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Interconnections in the Central Mediterranaean: The Maltese Islands and Sicily in History

(Proceeding of the Conference St Julians, Malta, 2nd and 3rd November 2007)

edited by

Anthony Bonanno
Pietro Militello

K.A.S.A.

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Officina di Studi Medievali
2008

K.A.S.A. è l'acronimo di *Koiné archeologica, sapiente antichità*. E' un progetto realizzato dalla Facoltà di Lettere e Filosofia dell'Università di Catania, dalla University of Malta e dalla *Officina di Studi Medievali* di Palermo e finanziato nell'ambito del programma *Interreg IIIA Italia-Malta*, anno 2004-2006, proposto dalla Regione Siciliana con contributi della Comunità Europea (European Regional Development Fund). L'obiettivo strategico del progetto è la valorizzazione del patrimonio culturale (sia monumentale sia immateriale) che accomuna le province di Siracusa e Ragusa e l'arcipelago maltese, per rafforzare le identità delle comunità locali e la reciproca conoscenza, riqualificare in senso culturale i flussi turistici già esistenti, inserire siti minori finora poco conosciuti all'interno dei circuiti, incrementare il turismo di qualità proveniente da altre aree italiane ed europee.

K.A.S.A. is the acronym of *Koiné archeologica, sapiente antichità* (Archaeological community, wise antiquity). It is a project realized by the Facoltà di Lettere e Filosofia of the University of Catania, by the University of Malta and by the *Officina di Studi Medievali* of Palermo, funded by the European Regional Development Fund (2004-2006) within the *Interreg IIIA Programme, Italy-Malta*, years 2004-2006, a Community initiative which aims to stimulate co-operation between regions throughout the European Union.
The strategic goal of the project is the valorisation of a shared cultural (both tangible and intangible) heritage between the provinces of Syracusa and Ragusa and the Maltese archipelago, in order to reinforce local identities and reciprocal knowledge, to upgrade the already existent touristic flows with a cultural direction; to introduce minor, less known sites in established touristic networks, and to promote cultural tourism coming from other areas of Italy and Europe.

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Summary

Conference held in St Julians, Malta on 2-3 November 2007 as part of the K.A.S.A. Project

Table of Contents:

Programme of the Seminar
Interconnections in the Central Mediterranean: the Maltese Islands and Sicily in History

Scientific Committee:
Prof. Anthony Bonanno
Prof. Pietro Militello
Prof. Alessandro Musco
Dr. Nicholas Vella

Secreteriat:
Maxine Anastasi
Chris Gemmell

St Julians, Friday 2 November 2007 – Hotel Radisson SAS

Programme

09.00 Registration

Morning session

Chairperson: Anthony Bonanno, University of Malta

09.30 *Welcome – Presentation of the KASA Project*
Alessandro Musco, Officina di Studi Medievali, Palermo
Pietro Militello, Università degli Studi di Catania

09.40 *Interreg III A Programme*
Loredana d'Arrigo, STC Interreg ITALIA – MALTA

09.50 *Introduction*
Anthony Bonanno, University of Malta

10.00 Massimo Cultraro, CNR, Catania
Domesticating islandscapes: Sicily and the Maltese Islands in the Later Neolithic and Eneolithic Ages (IV-III millennium BC)

10.35 Coffee break

11.00 Pascal Arnaud, Université de Nice
Crossroads of the ancient Mediterranean: Malta, Sicily and Pantelleria in context

11.35 Rossana de Simone, Università degli Studi di Palermo
Sicilia e Malta in età fenicia e punica: problemi e prospettive

12.10 Discussion

13.00 Light Lunch

Afternoon session

Chairperson: Nicholas Vella, University of Malta

14.30 Margherita Cassia, Università degli Studi di Catania
Medicina cristiana e chirurgia tardoantica: malattia e guarigione nelle isole maltesi e in Sicilia tra IV e V secolo d.C.

15.05 Ferdinando Maurici, Soprintendenza ai BBCCAA, Trapani
Le isole minori della Sicilia e l'arcipelago Maltese dall'età bizantina alla conquista islamica

15.40 Thomas Freller, Deutsche Angestellten Akademie, Stuttgart
Islanders of reference: Maltese and Sicilian scholars and their importance for the Grand Tour

16.10 Discussion and concluding remarks
16.30 Tea

20.00 Conference dinner

Saturday Morning
08.15 Departure for archaeological excursion to Gozo

Visiting:	The Ġgantija prehistoric temple complex
	The Gozo Archaeology Museum
	The Citadel
13.00	Lunch

Introduction

A. Bonanno, P. Militello

Island cultures tend to be insular but are rarely, if ever, isolated. Unique cultural manifestations, like the Maltese temple culture, stand a better chance of emerging and developing in an insular context, but that does not mean that they cannot emerge and reach their climax in a broader continental, or mainland, context. Witness the cultures that produced the rock art around Mont Bego in the French Maritime Alps and in Valcamonica, not to mention the Great Zimbabwe culture.

Against that background, recent research on the Mediterranean islands has shown that they have dynamic histories, some more than others. Recent works have highlighted the fact that island societies have often been able to structure and maintain distinctive identities, probably abetted by their insularity, without however, being really isolated.

At different times over several millennia, the proximity of Sicily and the Maltese Islands stimulated political, economic and cultural trajectories that defied geographical constraints of winds and sea currents, and anthropogenic trading and political patterns. Material culture, commercial and political interests, seafaring, cartography, and travelogues – all have shown to be components in the construction of island landscapes and seascapes. This K.A.S.A. seminar was designed to explore ways in which humans have perceived, defined and constructed the Maltese Islands over time, with reference to its close neighbour, the large island of Sicily.

The first five of the six papers published in this volume take up these common cultural trajectories across time from the earliest human presence on Malta, the Neolithic, through Classical and Byzantine times and down to the early Middle ages. The last paper reviews the interest among 17th-18th century travellers from the north who extended the Grand Tour to include the islands beyond the

southern extremities of the Italian peninsula.

Massimo **Cultraro** very appropriately opens the theme of the Siculo-Maltese cultural relations with a discussion of parallel developments on the two islands in the period which on the continent would correspond to the transition from the late Neolithic to the Eneolithic, or Copper Age (that is, from c. 4100 to c. 2500 BC), based on material culture, more precisely, pottery. He investigates new data found in Sicily and compares them with others from contemporary cultures of the south-western Balkans and north-western Greece. He focuses on the Zebbug pottery and related assemblages outside the Maltese islands. Cultraro identifies parallel developments and more intensive interaction between Malta and Sicily at this stage: the beginning of ritualisation in Malta which would escalate progressively into the temple culture, and changes in the economic and social structure in Sicily, perhaps related to growing competition, social tensions and insecurity.

With Pascal **Arnaud**'s paper we explore the network of sea trade routes in Classical times, from about the 4th century BC to the 4th century AD. It highlights the changing sea-faring patterns resulting from constraints imposed by changing thalassocracies and consequent trading patterns. It identifies the *longue durée* geographical set-up of the three individual islands (Malta, Pantelleria and Marettimo) and follows their separate changing roles with the changing geo-political scenarios. The conclusion is that there is no such thing as an islandscape that is common to the three islands. “Their evolution seems to be significantly more linked with their position along certain sea-routes rather than with them being islands.” Of these three, Malta and Pantelleria had their respective specialized items of export (linen from the former, Pantellerian Ware from the latter) encouraging transhipment, while Marettimo might have remained nothing more than a landmark or, at most, a mooring place along the routes.

Taking as her point of departure a statement by Sabatino Moscati during a 1976 conference on the state of research of Phoenician and Punic Malta, Rossana **De Simone** touches a number of issues relating to Punic archaeology in the western Mediterranean to test the ground as to how far things have changed since that statement in the light of the increased body of knowledge. Rightly enough, she asks about the role of women in the colonization process of the western Phoenician settlements. The number of first generation women must have been small. To them women of different ethnic origin were added in stages afterwards. Along the way she highlights the absence in Malta of stelai that are so prominent in Motya, Carthage and Sardinia in spite of the presence of the cult of the *molk* testified by the two inscriptions on *cippi* (CIS I 123 & 123a).

The world of the medical profession in Roman antiquity is opened up for us by Margherita **Cassia** who discusses a funerary inscription reputedly found in Gozo in the 18^{th} century and commemorating Domestikos, an early Christian medical doctor. The fact that his name is Roman and the epitaph is in Greek suggests a bilingual culture in Malta in Late Antiquity. Besides referring to other occurrences of the name Domestikos the author brings up another ancient monument alluding to the medical profession, the grave stone with surgical instruments carved in relief from a tomb under the Rabat Secondary School. She discusses the list of medical doctors (four dated to the 1st century BC and twelve others in Imperial times) documented by Roman epigraphy in Sicily with which Malta had close administrative and (later) ecclesiastical connections. Since the two symbols on the seventh line of the inscription have been generally interpreted as surgical instruments, suggesting that Domestikos was a surgeon, Cassia discusses the fortune or reputation (good or bad) enjoyed by surgeons, as opposed to non-surgeon medics and the rehabilitation process in Late Antiquity resulting from the 'Christianisation' of the figure of the surgeon.

Maurici's paper starts off with a reality that might come as a surprise to many of us, namely, that the islands around Sicily, apart from Malta, Gozo, Lipari and Pantelleria, were virtually all inhabited (at least frequented) in Roman times whereas only the more important ones were so from Norman times to the 16^{th} century. In some ways, this confirms Arnaud's observations referred to above on the historical vagaries of islandscapes. This depopulation occurred mostly during or immediately after the Muslim invasion which occurred at different dates.

The network of scholars, or men of letters, from northwest Europe in search of information from travellers to far away regions later to be incorporated within the Grand Tour, appears much thicker than previously apparent. This historical reality comes forth in Thomas **Freller**'s contribution to this publication. We thus find out that many writers were commissioning friends and acquaintances to obtain information through first-hand experiences of travellers.

Many of G.F. Abela's list of contemporary 17^{th} century writers cited in his work become thus real people of flesh and blood with whom he came in contact, directly or through acquaintances, rather than mere names of authors of consulted books. The same is the case of his 18^{th} century successor G.A. Ciantar who revised and augmented his scholarly work on Malta. But the personality that looms greatest in the list of travellers to this part of the Mediterranean world is by far Jean Hoüel who anticipates the encyclopaedic spirit of enlightenment of the aftermath of the French Revolution. Maltese archaeology and antiquarianism owes him a lot.

Thomas Freller has shown over the last twenty years or so how rich and fertile this field of research is, not only for shedding new light on these remotest destinations of the Grand Tour in the central Mediterranean but also for revealing the spirit of its times. His paper brings a whole cycle that started with prehistory to a close with the end of the 18th century which, in Malta's case, corresponds with the end of one era (the Knights period) and the start of another (the British period).

Domesticating islandscapes: Sicily and the Maltese Islands in the Later Neolithic and Eneolithic Ages (IV-III millennium BC)

MASSIMO CULTRARO

Introduction

The Late Neolithic and the early phases of the Eneolithic period in Sicily and Malta are an ideal theatre for island archaeology in general, and in particular for exploring the relationships between islands and the extra-insular world (Evans 1977), according to the most up-to-date studies on the Mediterranean island communities, specifically the Aegean in the Early Bronze Age (EBA) (Broodbank 2000).

In the last decades an increasing amount of archaeological research has been focused on the long-term interconnections between the Maltese Islands and Sicily during the 3rd and 2nd millennium BC (Cazzella 2000a; 2000b; Cultraro 2000; Procelli 1981; 1991) (Fig. 1.1). Whereas specific studies on the EBA Castelluccio culture have provided significant data in order to establish the main cultural relationships between Sicily and Malta (Bernabò Brea 1966; Procelli 1981; Bonanno 2001), the investigation of the Late Neolithic Period and the early Eneolithic does not seem to have received great emphasis, except for rare cases (Cazzella 1994; 2000a; Giannitrapani 1997).

Malta and Sicily are a special case with regard to their later cultural evolution, especially after about 3500 cal. BC when both islands were involved in independent developments. The result was the emergence of different cultural trajectories, such as the monumental temple architecture in Malta (Renfrew 1973: 147-166; Bonanno *et al.* 1990-91: 192), whereas in the case of Sicily local and external networks flourished in the same period.

How can we explain this divergence in terms of extra-cultural interaction? Could we interpret these changes only in terms of movements? Or migration of small and distinct people from Sicily to the Maltese Islands? (Trump 2002: 38) Or

rather in the direction of a broader system of inter-regional contacts in the central Mediterranean basin?

The spread of the incised pottery in many areas of the Mediterranean, such as Sicily/Aeolian Islands (Spatarella pottery), Malta (Zebbug Ware) Southern Italy (incised ware from Calabria) and north-western Greece (Scratch Crusted Ware), appears to reflect articulated networks of communication that can be explained not only in terms of population movements.

The question is whether the extra-interaction system between Malta and Sicily was the result of direct and regular contacts (Cazzella 2000a), or whether these long-term relationships were a part of a macro-level phenomenon involving the central Mediterranean basin during the later 4th millennium BC.

In view of the above, the aim of the present paper is firstly to investigate the new data found in Sicily and to compare them with the contemporary cultures of the south-western Balkans and north-western Greece during the transitional phase from the Late Neolithic to Early Bronze Age. I shall focus on the analysis of the Zebbug pottery and those assemblages that were geographically closest to the Maltese islands. Here I shall not attempt to review, in detail, the meaning of the term "Copper Age", or *Periodo Eneolitico* according to the Italian scholars, since it is a conventional and, in some case, arbitrary definition which embraces various assemblages and pottery styles in the period between c. 3800 cal. BC and 2400 cal. BC (Leighton 1999: 91-93). This definition will be used for describing a wider chronological framework, but the adoption of Eneolithic Age, in terms of a different phase from the previous Neolithic period, is not reasonable enough to explain the complex socio-economic changes involving the Sicilian communities at the end of the 4th millennium BC.

Originality and Diversity of the early Eneolithic Age in Sicily

Since the pioneering work of L. Bernabò Brea and M. Cavalier upon the sites at Spatarella and at Castello on the island of Lipari (Bernabò Brea & Cavalier 1980: 470-494; Cavalier 1979), it has been widely accepted among scholars that the appearance of the incised pottery (Spatarella phase) is indicative of a transitional stage from the Diana Culture to the early Eneolithic Age. A gradual move away from Late Neolithic red wares to darker burnished and incised wares is clearly discernible in the stratigraphies of several sites on the Aeolian Islands and in Sicily.

A specific feature of the Spatarella assemblage is the incised decoration, consisting of rows of triangles frequently located within the inner part of deep bowls and, more rarely, in the body of jars (Cavalier 1979: fig. 23-24; Cazzella

2000a: fig. 1: 5-7) (Fig. 1.2d-j). Another characteristic motif is the 'ladder-pattern' which occurs on the larger jar forms, many of which are well burnished (Martinelli 2001: fig. 1) (Fig. 1.2a-b).

The evidence from the Aeolian Islands best illustrates the changing ceramic production, by showing the gradual transformation from Late Neolithic Red Wares to darker burnished and incised pottery (Spatarella phase). As I will clarify further, a similar degree of transformation is discernible in other parts of the Mediterranean basin during the middle of 4th millennium BC, providing a solid support for the periodisation of the early Eneolithic in Sicily and in the Maltese islands.

An excellent chronological marker for the Spatarella phase in the Aeolian Islands is the conical bowl, with a spreading rim and decorated with an incised row of triangles on the inner rim (Fig. 1.2d-j). In the Etna region, shallow bowls of this category are documented in some sites along the Simeto valley; for example, they occur in Trefontane, near Paternò (Catanzaro *et al.*1975-76: 21, fig. 5.69) and in the Cave of Capritti (Adrano), an unpublished deposit with a stratigraphy covering the main phases of the Eneolithic period (Cultraro 1997: 136). In this latter site the stratigraphical sequence assures that shallow bowls with incised triangles in the inner side are documented in the same level which also contains San Cono-Piano Notaro ware.

Further inland, near Bronte (N-W slopes of the Etna volcano) the *Riparo della Serra*, a cave deposit still unpublished (Cultraro 1997: 136), provides a reliable stratigraphic sequence. Stratum 4 was characterised by few burnished, grey, incised decorated pottery and shapes, related to the late Diana culture or Spatarella. The upper level (stratum 3) includes dark burnished ware and a small group of incised pottery decorated with large triangles and broadly scratched lines, comparable with the early Eneolithic Calafarina style of southeastern Sicily (Orsi 1907). Among the considerable variety of pottery from stratum 3 there is a jar with an ovoid-shaped body and bell-shaped neck, which can be compared with similar pear-shaped vessels from the Zebbug phase (Fig. 1.3).

The presence of incised pottery in the Eneolithic cemetery at Piano Vento, near Palma di Montechiaro (Agrigento), confirms the spread of this pottery class in the south-western part of the island (Castellana 1995). The cemetery comprises two spatially separated burial groups that can be related to two different chronological phases. The pottery assemblage from the eastern funerary cluster is mostly characterized by a painted class ware that appears to be different, in shape and decorative pattern, from the Conzo Style (Castellana 1995: 27-38) (Fig. 1.5.B:2). The burnished ware, related to the San Cono-Piano Notaro culture, represents the

most common pottery group, whilst the incised triangles on the external surface of the carinated bowls, as well as the cut-out patterns, are very popular (Fig. 1.5B:1, 3-4).

Conversely, the burials of the western cluster show some remarkable differences in the pottery assemblage and in the decorative system. Among the dark burnished pottery the incised triangle motif occurs on a group of carinated bowls, but this decorative pattern appears infrequently in the inner part of the dish (Castellana 1995: figs. 57-60) (Fig. 1.5C:1,3). The impressed dots and a combination of large broad cut-out motifs and incised dots, sometimes filled with red ochre or white substances, occur frequently in several varieties of open forms, as the pottery assemblages from Tombs 26 and 27 suggest (Castellana 1995: 127-130, pls. 107-114). Moreover, one should stress that among the burials of the western side the painted Dark on Light ware largely occurs in small jars with baggy bodies and in carinated open forms (Castellana 1995: figs. 66, 72; 75, 77). (Fig. 1.5C:2, 4).

The analysis of the pottery leads to conclude that the differences in the pottery assemblage between both funerary areas should be interpreted in terms of chronological sequence. In fact, the eastern burial group can be dated to earlier than the western side burials, where the painted wares mostly occur (Fig. 1.5). A group of carinated and round-bottomed large bowls from the cemetery at Piano Vento (Castellana 1995: 82, figg. 57-60), which are decorated with incised triangles, represents the first occupation of the area (Fig. 1.4: 1-3). The affinities with the Spatarella ware from the Aeolian islands is mostly limited to the incised motifs, but the large presence of carinated profiles, which are absent in the Late Neolithic Spatarella phase, synchronizes the pottery class with incised triangles to the same phase when the San Cono-Piano Notaro ware was in use. It is worth noting that a similar pottery variety is discernible within the cave sites from Mount Etna mentioned above, where the carinated bowls with incised triangles follow the conical open shapes with a similar decorative motif, as the sequence at the Riparo della Serra (Bronte) suggest.

Close parallels with the pottery group from the western burials at Piano Vento, dated to the early Eneolithic period, can be found in some important sites on the south-eastern coast of Sicily. A carinated bowl with offset rim from Casalicchio-Agnone shows a decorative pattern with triangles upon the rim and a couple of lines on the body (McConnell 1985: 106, CLC028) (Fig. 1.4.4). Indeed, two shallow bowls decorated with similar patterns are reported from Piano Notaro at Gela (McConnell 1985: 117, 124, CSR088, CSR106).

Given the evidence from Piano Vento and from the stratigraphic deposits in the Etna region, there is now evidence to argue for a greater degree of the incised pottery in the early Eneolithic in Sicily (Tusa 1992: 239-240). However, a review of the dating and distribution of the deposits suggests that there is relatively little to support the notion of chronological homogeneity of the incised pottery in Sicily. The presence of discernible stratigraphy at some sites makes it possible to consider an internal evolution of the incised pottery on the basis of presumed developmental sequences of form and decoration (Fig. 1.5). Given these considerations, we can conclude that:

1. Triangles incised on the inner rim of shallow bowls (Spatarella type) represent the decorative pattern documented in a transitional stage from the late Diana culture to early Eneolithic Age. This reconstruction is supported by the stratigraphic sequence within sites of the Etna region (Fig. 1.5.A).

2. Triangles incised on the external surface of vessels, such as in Piano Vento (eastern group tombs) and Piano Notaro, suggest a position later than the Spatarella's pottery assemblage (Fig. 1.5.B). In the same phase we include the broad cut-out lines motif and the presence of the early painted pottery examples from Tomb 17 at Piano Vento (Fig. 1.5.B:2).

3. The tombs of the western group at Piano Vento provide the evidence for the late phase of the cemetery. Significant changes on the pottery and on the decorative system suggest a later position for this tomb group (Fig. 1.5.C). The painted black on light ware includes small jars decorated with groups of irregular lines. The decorative system and pattern scarcely developed, thus possibly allowing the dating of this stage to when the painted style of Conzo is attested in the eastern region of Sicily. The broad cut-out line patterns are also documented and incised decoration is extremely common, consisting of broadly scraped lines, zigzag lines and drilled dots carried out before firing.

Malta before the Temples

Given the chronological sequence of the early Eneolithic Period in Sicily as proposed above, we can now examine the contemporary cultural assemblage from the Maltese islands.

The Zebbug pottery assemblage lacks obvious local antecedents, but it shows clear connections with contemporary material from Sicily and the Aegean-Balkans area during the second half of the 4th millennium BC (Trump 1961). Vessels are handmade using a soft fabric, fired at a relatively low temperature. They have well smoothed surfaces and are fairly light in colour (Trump 1996: 31-

32). A detailed analysis of the full range of vessel forms in the Zebbug phase is relatively difficult since shapes are not rigidly standardised. Some characteristic shapes appear foreign to the local ceramic repertoire, showing clear parallels with ceramic traditions documented in the central Mediterranean (Evans 1953: 49-50, 78).

Two fragments of incised pottery decorated with triangles were reported from Santa Verna in Gozo, where they occur in a level containing mixed Grey Skorba and Zebbug wares (Trump 1966: 45, fig. 44a-d) (Fig. 1.6:1-2). We are dealing with a mixed context, where pottery of the Mgarr type apparently seems to be absent. However, J. Evans, in his review on Maltese prehistory, mentions some sherds with Mgarr phase decoration being found in T. Ashby excavations in 1911 (Evans 1953: 46). The conclusion, therefore, is that the deposit of Santa Verna cannot be considered in terms of chronology.

More remarkable evidence was found at Skorba in Malta. According to D. Trump, three sherds with incised triangles are documented in a level containing Grey Skorba pottery (Trump 1966: 45) (Fig. 1.6:3-4). In the case of the evidence recorded from the AF Trench, it is worth noting that the level was beneath the Zebbug phase. The stratigraphic sequence, however, is not clearly discernible and there is suspicion that the sherds may be related to the Zebbug phase rather than the Skorba phase. In fact, the fragments from Santa Verna mentioned above, and those from a disturbed deposit immediately above the Red Skorba shrine at Skorba, could suggest a possible early stage in the development of the Zebbug phase.

The most difficult question is to correlate this category of incised pottery with the cut-out ware known as the Mgarr Phase. Since the work of D. Trump on the Skorba site, it has been suggested that the Mgarr ware may be an intermediate phase between Zebbug and Ggantija phases (Trump 1966: 31-32). However, in a recent synthesis on the prehistory of Malta, the Mgarr pottery group is considered not as a distinct chronological phase, but as a local pottery repertoire (Stoddart 1999).

The *status quaestionis* is really more complex and it needs to be explained. The review of the dating of the early stage of the Eneolithic Age in Sicily suggests that there is relatively little evidence to support the notion that the Mgarr pottery is a chronological phase in itself. As noted above, the analysis of the pottery from the cemetery at Piano Vento confirms that the broad cut-out technique is documented in a stage later than the occurrence of the incised ware of the Spatarella type. Moreover, the stratigraphic evidence from the Grotta Chiusazza includes the occurrence of a pottery group decorated with broadly scratched “hair lines”, known

as the Calafarina style, in the same level associated with San Cono-Piano Notaro pottery (Tinè 1965: 174-175, pl. VI 13-19). A similar association between Scratch ware and incised pottery is attested in stratum 3 at Riparo della Serra, which represents the level following the Spatarella phase (see above).

According to these statements, it seems that the Mgarr pottery assemblage could suggest a pottery class dated to the Zebbug phase rather than being a distinct phase.

Equally, the recent data from the Brochtorff Circle Tomb demonstrates that the Zebbug phase is not homogenous in its sequence and appears to include two different stages according to the analysis of the pottery and decorative system (Malone *et al.* 1995). In terms of a relative chronology, the evidence from the Brochtorff Circle provides significant elements for dating a specific decorated pottery group in a late stage of the Zebbug sequence or in a proto-Ggantjia group. In fact, the Ggantija dates in the later 4th millennium cal. BC fit better with the radiocarbon dates of the early Eneolithic of the Italian peninsula (Skeates 1994, with references) than the early Zebbug period dated to the late 5th millennium cal. BC, which also overlaps with the conventional chronology proposed for the Red Skorba phase (Trump 1995-96).

Another series of elements should be mentioned here. Firstly, in the Zebbug phase a certain amount of painted ware, decorated with red or brown patterns on a cream or yellow surface, cannot be considered as an isolated class, but it should be examined in the light of the contemporary evidence from the early Eneolithic in Sicily, as the pottery assemblage from Piano Vento suggests (Trump 1966: 40, fig. 38; Giannitrapani 1997: 211). In this case, we could be dealing with a specific pottery production which may have been imported from Sicily, or locally produced pottery imitating Sicilian models. The second element is the occurrence of the hemispherical ‘button’ using the *Spondylus* shell, with a V-shaped perforation, in Malta. This is a category of ornaments documented in Tomb 5 at Ta’ Trapna (Evans 1971: fig. 58) and in the Brochtorff Circle tomb in Gozo (Malone *et al.* 1995: fig. 24). This latter evidence confirms the Zebbug phase date, but use of this type of ornament may have continued into later phases, as suggested bv the five examples from Tomb 5 at Xemxija (Evans 1971: pls. 43-44). A significant parallel for the V-perforated button is the example found in Tomb 2 at Uditore, Palermo, where the pottery assemblage can be related to the late stage of San Cono-Piano Notaro Culture (Cassano-Manfredini 1975: fig. 18).

Sicily and Malta: Dialogues in the islands

The general picture of the early Eneolithic in Sicily, as has been reconstructed above, provides significant evidence to re-assess the Maltese sequence prior to the Temple Period. If we compare the Sicilian early Eneolithic sequence with the pottery style groups from Malta, we can conclude that there are new and intriguing data in order to synchronize the relationships between both areas. The correlation can be summarised as follows (Fig. 1.7):

1. The Spatarella phase can be related to the Grey Skorba phase or to the transitional phase from Grey Skorba to Zebbug period. This phase is marked by the appearance of the shallow bowl type, decorated with triangles incised on the internal rim.

2. The next phase includes the eastern group tombs at Piano Vento. The cut-out decorated pottery can be compared with the same ceramic production from Mgarr. In terms of the relative chronology, this stage can be synchronised with the early Zebbug culture.

3. The next phase encompasses the western group tombs at Piano Vento and it is related to the late Zebbug culture, attested in the Brochtorff Circle.

To sum up, according to the general view widely accepted within Maltese archaeology (Trump 2002: 49-55), the Zebbug phase (c. 4100/3800 cal. BC) provides a period of successful transformations of the local social and economic structure, representing the beginning of the “ritualisation process”, as S. Stoddard has pointed out (1999: 139), leading to the construction of megalithic temples in the next phase. Conversely, the early Eneolithic period in Sicily reflects changes in the economic and social structure, showing a society dominated by competition and greater mobility, perhaps related to growing social tensions and greater insecurity (Tusa 1992: 233-240; Leighton 1999: 87-91). In spite of radical differences in terms of social organisation, considerable contacts were maintained with other areas of the Central Mediterranean, shown by the strong similarity in appearance and decorative elements found in the pottery of Sicily and the Maltese Archipelago (Evans 1953: 78; Trump 2002: 38, 55).

The origin of the early Eneolithic incised ware: A look at Western Greece and the Balkans

I turn now to the previous question, the definition of comparative material for the early Eneolithic of Sicily and Maltese Islands, in order to provide a solid confirmation of the chronological sequence, as I have suggested above. Many of the ceramic types investigated from Sicily and Malta show possible Aegean

parallels which have been pointed out by L. Bernabò Brea (1980: 679) and D. Trump (2002: 55).

A potentially fruitful area of investigation is north-western Greece and the Adriatic coast of Albania and Epirus, where recent excavations have produced new data for the chronology of the transitional phase from Late Neolithic to Early Bronze Age. The incised decoration, characterised by light lines, has close parallels with a specific ceramic group documented in some cave deposits in the islands of Ithaka and Leukade. The stratigraphic sequences found in the Polis Cave at Ithaka, in the Cave of Evgiros (Choirospelia) at Leukade, and also in the site of Aphiona at Kephalonia, provide a significant key chronological indicator to establish the occurrence of the incised ware in a late stage of the Final Neolithic Period, dated to the end of the 4th millennium BC (Souyoudzoglou-Haywood 1999: 6-7).

Recent excavations in the Cave of Drakaina (Poros) on the island of Kephallonia, confirms this stratigraphical sequence and also provides new elements for reconstructing the general development of the Late Neolithic cultures in north-western Greece and the Balkans area (Miranda-Chatziotou, Stratouli 1999: 75, fig. 6). The pottery with incised motives, noted as *Scratch Crusted Ware* or "Incised Prosymna Ware" (Blegen 1937: 375), appears to be attested in many deposits on Mainland Greece, such as Lerna and Corinth, in latest Neolithic levels, immediately preceding the Early Helladic I (Phelps 1975: 300).

In the Cave of Lakes, at Kastria of Kalavryta (Achaia), incised pottery was exclusively found in the level III, dated to Late Neolithic II. Within this level a fragment of a shallow bowl decorated with incised triangles is attested in association with linear and cut-out incised ware (Sampson 1997: 245-246, fig. 70). We can also mention the evidence from the Aspis Hill at Argos, where beneath the level dated to EH I, an Eneolithic or Late Neolithic dated stratum has been found. The ceramic assemblage includes burnished pottery and some characteristic incised decorated pottery (Alram Stern 1996: 240-241) (Fig. 1.8). One fragment decorated with dots and lines can be compared with the Mgarr pottery from Malta and with the San Cono-Piano Notaro culture in Sicily (Alram Stern 1996: fig. 15).

The evidence from the cave deposits in the Ionian Islands provides some important elements for defining the chronology and the ceramic production in north-western Greece during the late 4th millennium BC. This sequence can be compared to the culture and chronological sequence of the Western Macedonia and Adriatic area. The incised pottery, using a mixture of scratch-decorated ware and the cut-out decorated category, is the most significant chronological key for defining the later phase of Neolithic Period.

In this perspective I focus on two important stratigraphic deposits in order to explain the periodisation of the Late Neolithic and early Eneolithic in the Western Balkans. In the settlement at Dërsinik, in Albania, incised pottery decorated with triangles and light lines is documented in a level dated to the latest Neolithic Period (Lera 1988: pls. XVI-XVII). The stratigraphical sequence recorded at Gladnice, in the Kosovo region, includes an early level of occupation characterised by scratch-decorated ware relating to the Late Neolithic Balkan group of Bubanj-Hum Ia - Vinca C2-D, whereas the higher stratum produced channelled burnished pottery which can be compared with the Baden-Kostolac group (Garasanin 1973: 610, fig. II, 4-5).

Moreover, the Proto-Baden culture in Kosovo and Bosnia, traditionally synchronized with the Bubanj-Hum Ib horizon, encompasses a category of pottery decorated by incised lines and rows of dots. This pottery assemblage is later than the scratched ware, suggesting that the date of introduction for the dot-decorated pottery is placed in an advanced phase of the Eneolithic Period in the Balkan region (Cultraro 2001: 220-222). The latter is important in synchronising the western Adriatic sequences with the periodisation of the early Eneolithic culture in Sicily and Malta.

A note on the chronology

Radiocarbon dates from north-western Greece place the date for the latest Neolithic and the transitional phase to EH I, in the mid-4th millennium BC (Douzougli-Zachos 2002: 126). In the case of Sicily, radiocarbon dates are really scarce (Leighton 1999: 91-93). Two samples from the Grotta Cavallo (Leighton 1999: tab. 4) suggest that the Piano Notaro culture may be dated to the middle of 4th millennium BC, allowing a closer synchronism to be made with the Adriatic Balkans and Western Greece (Cazzella 2000a: 89).

The evidence from Grotta Cavallo can be compared with the dates reported from South Italy and the Aeolian islands. The radiocarbon dated chronology for the Late Neolithic/Early Eneolithic provides two dates, from Spatarella on Lipari (4885± 50 BP) and at Grotta della Madonna, Praia a Mare (Calabria), levels 23-21 (4770± 55 BP, Salerno-Vanzetti 2004: 226-227).

In the case of Malta, recent radiocarbon dates from the Brochtorff Circle provide corroboration of the dating for the Zebbug and Ggantjia phases. In fact, the Zebbug phase appears to fall between 4200 and 3600 cal. BC (Malone *et al.* 1995: 342: table 10) and it appears to be earlier than might have been expected.

Conclusion

The data examined above lead to the conclusion that contacts between the Maltese Islands and Sicily were continuous during the early Eneolithic Age, and perhaps on a scale that hitherto has gone unappreciated. The linkage between both insular districts has often been stressed in terms of exchange processes such as the case for ochre, as L. Maniscalco has pointed out (1989), greenstone axes and other perishable items (Skeates 1995). The incised pottery, in the scratch-decorated and cut-out ware varieties, is a distinctive style of pottery which appears in the Central Mediterranean during the middle of the 4th millennium BC. In a broader context, the spread of this ceramic assemblage clearly documents that a complex network of communications connected many different areas of the Mediterranean basin, in particular, Sicily, South Italy, the Maltese Islands and the south-western Balkans, including the Ionian Islands.

The radiocarbon dates from the Balkans suggest a position earlier than the other areas involved in this phenomenon of transmission of the incised pottery. However, I do not believe that this means we should accept the traditional interpretation of ethnicity and people migration, according to some scholars who interpreted the emergence of the incised pottery in early Eneolithic Age in terms of large-scale people movements (Maran 1998). At the same time, the interpretation of S. Tinè, who suggested that the early Eneolithic incised pottery in Sicily was of a local development deriving from the incised wares of the Neolithic period, does not appear to be a highly defensible hypothesis (Tinè 1965: 175). These contacts should be explained using a different perspective that suggests small scale, directional and continuing movements.

The selective adoption of specific decorative patterns and of shapes clearly indicates that the emergence of the incised pottery depended on the different degree of diversity and complexity at an inter-community level. The incised pottery forms only a part of a broader inter-regional communicative system and it cannot be separated from the emergence of significant changes in the funerary ritual. The development and growth of collective burials and the use of the rock-cut tombs in Malta and Sicily represent the best current evidence for inter-community contacts (Giannitrapani 1997: 211; Cazzella 2000B). Rock-cut tombs are documented in the Western Balkans during the late 4th millennium BC, for instance at Vucedol and Gradac (Schmidt 1945: 41-47), and are also reported in north-western Greece which is, as noted above, the area showing the best comparisons with the early Eneolithic in Malta and Sicily.

The different impact and adoption of these stimuli coming from the south-western Balkans and Aegean world were highly selective and dependent upon its

appropriation within specific local strategies. These involved the creation and maintenance of contrasting identities among the local groups and it explains the different trajectories and the different results found in Malta and Sicily, although both were active elements of a wider inter-regional network of communication in the Central Mediterranean basin.

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Figures

Fig. 1.1 Neolithic and Early Eneolithic exchange networks between Sicily and Malta (adapted from Leighton 1999).

Fig. 1.2 Pottery assemblage from Spatarella, Lipari (from Cavalier 1979).

Fig. 1.3 Two-handled jar from Riparo della Serra (Bronte), stratum 3 (early Eneolithic Period); 2. Two-handled jar from Malta, Zebbug Phase (after Evans 1971).

Fig. 1.4 Carinated bowls with incised triangles (1-3 from Piano Vento); 4 from Casalicchio Agnone (Licata); 5-6 from Piano Notaro (Gela); 1-3 from Castellana 1995; 4-6 from McConnell 1985.

Fig. 1.5 Proposal of periodisation of the Late Neolithic/early Eneolithic Period in Sicily, according to the ceramic sequence.

Fig. 1.6 Fragments of conical bowls with incised decoration from Santa Verna in Gozo (1-2) and Skorna in Malta (3-4) (from Trump 1966).

Fig. 1.7 A comparative synchronism between Sicily and the Maltese islands from Late Neolithic to the early Eneolithic period.

Fig. 1.8 Incised pottery from the Aspis Hill at Argos, level pre-Early Helladic I (after Alram Stern 1996)<.

Islandscapes under question: the Maltese Archipelago, Pantelleria and Marettimo and their contexts in classical Antiquity.

PASCAL ARNAUD

"Malta, my dear sir, is in my thoughts, sleeping and waking"
(Sir Horatio Nelson)

During the last two decades, three new concepts were introduced in the field of maritime archaeology, and in maritime history as a whole. The first was that of "Maritime Cultural Landscape" defined as the "whole network of sailing routes, old as well as new, with ports and harbours along the coast, and its related constructions and remains of human activity, underwater as well as terrestrial" (Westerdhal 1992: 6). It opposed Natural Landscape (i.e. geo-biological determinisms) and Cultural Landscape (human impact) and reached a fair success in the following years among many scholars (Parker 1999). It quickly led to the specialization of the notion of Landscape as to indicate natural landscape, as opposed to other particular, mainly cultural, landscapes (Gosden & Head 1994). The concept of "Seascape" (Gosden & Pavlides 1994) was thus applied to islands considered as lands partially determined by the sea, in a balanced view of the complementary impacts of Man and Nature. Increased interest in Island Archaeology, especially among prehistorians, led many to consider islands as a world *per se* and insularity as a sufficient common feature. In other words, the implicit premise of island archaeology was "that insular human societies show intrinsic characteristics essentially dissimilar from those on mainlands" (Boomert & Bright 2007: 3). In 1996, a dissertation about Archaeology of the Early Cyclades, published four years later (Broodbank 2000) introduced the notion of "Islandscape", which focused on the Islands, especially under the cultural aspect of maritime connectivity, a concept made essential by recent research in the history of the classical Mediterranean as a whole (Horden & Purcell 2000). Despite a good reception, contained in the first reviews of the book, the concept of "Islandscape" encountered scepticism and was put under discussion (Tartaron 2001). More recently, Island Archaeology as a pertinent field has been much discussed, together with the notion of Islandscape

(Fitzpatrick 2004: passim; esp. Curet 2004 and Renfrew 2004; Rainbird 2007; Boomert & Bright 2007), leading to the convincing conclusion that "The primary postulate of island archaeology – namely that the manifestations of human behaviour on islands show persuasive structural similarities and are essentially divergent from those of mainlands – can be taken to be incorrect" (Boomert & Bright 2007: 17).

With this in mind, we must reconsider the way we must analyze any singular island, not only balancing natural determinisms and social human behaviour, but also its contexts. A. Boomert and A. J. Bright state: "Clearly, instead of seeing each island as a distinct unit of study, a balance should be found between understanding its individual cultural development and that of its sphere of regional, often archipelagic, social interaction (Curet 2004). Both fields of analysis are to be considered as mutually influencing since, as we have seen, distinctly single-island cultural manifestations often originated as a means of creating insular distinction and identity within the regional interaction sphere" (Boomert & Bright 2007: 14).

The sea is both a boundary or a highway (Broodbank 1993). Sailing directions depend mainly on wind directions and seasonal changes. The importance of seasonality and environment in ancient sailing has long been pointed out and still must be stressed (Casson 1995; Pryor 1987; Duncan-Jones 1990; Horden & Purcell 2000; Morton 2001; Mc Cormick 2001; Arnaud 2005). Long and short-term tendencies, depending both on global and regional political, social, technological and economic contexts may strongly impact sailing patterns and an island's economy, society and landscape. Long-term processes have been much stressed on since Braudel's times; they are still worth considering, but must be balanced with short-term changes. Although there appear to be strong permanencies, one must also pay attention to possible changes, as recently stressed by several scholars (Mc Cormick 2001: 83-119; Arnaud 2005). How much the rise and fall of Punic Sea-Power and the making of the Roman Peace may have impacted the Islands between Malta and Marittimo is a small, but significant, part of the more general problem of the changes in sailing-routes and patterns of the Ancient Mediterranean.

Natural features and their presentation.

Ancient writers, especially geographers, do mention above what seems to be normal three islands as a starting point for sea-measurements or as noteworthy blue sea islands. I mean, clockwise, Malta (*Melite*), sometimes, but not always, associated with Gozo (*Caudos/Gaulos*), Pantelleria (*Cossouros/Cossura*) and Marittimo (*Hiera/Maritima*). Some added to these Lampedusa (*Lampadusa*) and Kerkennah (*Cercinna*).

The Islands:

Malta and Gozo: distant 52 nm from Sicily, these two islands are just acceptable landmarks: Malta's highest point above sea level is 253 m., whereas that of Gozo is 201 m. Both are quite flat when seen from the high sea. Both have good harbours and were considered as very good shelters (DS V. 12) or wintering places (Cic., *Verr*. ii, 4.103-4; *Act. Apost*., 28.11). They could be a convenient call on the east-west routes and on the route from Lesser Syrtis to the Tyrrhenian. Gozo (8 x 4 nm, or 67 kmĻ) ismuch smaller than Malta (15x7 nm, or 246 kmĻ), and arable land is present on both islands. This may explain why the islands were considered *fertilis* by Ovid (*Fast*. III. 567). However, well known exported resources from Malta were actually artifacts, especially a kind of fine linen, well appreciated at Rome (DS V.12.2), and little dogs[1]. The high standard of life of Malta was supposed to be dependant upon imports (*Ibid*. 12.3).

Though very close to each other, as early as the ps.-Skylax, both islands had distinct cities (such as Rhenea and Delos within the Aegean), which were situated inland. Each island was thus considered a special entity, more than part of an archipelago.

Pantelleria: situated 46 nm ESE from Cape Bon, it is rather small in size (7 x 4.5 nm, 83 kmĻ), and was*parua* as compared with other islands, especially Malta and Gozo (Sil. It., XIV. 272). Its height (836 m) makes it an excellent landmark. It has small but good shelters from the prevailing North-West winds, which were larger in ancient times. It had at least three harbours in ancient times (Baldassari & Fontana 2002; Abelli *et al*. 2006). Its soil is potentially fertile, but the lack of water make it dry (Monti 2003: 1155). In Roman times, it was considered *sterilis* by Ovid (*Fast*. III. 567), to whom Malta appeared *fertilis*, but in Punic times, the settlement pattern of the island was characterized by small farms that probably suggest an element of self-subsistence. By the first years of the second Punic war (Plb, III. 96.13), it had only "something like a city" (*polismation*), which was located on the so-called "acropolis", above the present harbour.

Marettimo: the westernmost of the Aegades; 637 m high, it is an excellent landmark west of Sicily. It had good shelters, but no permanent harbours, and had little permanent human settlement (a castle and a village).

Weather and Sea

Ancient Sicily is the boundary mark between the eastern and central Mediterranean. This boundary is not, however, a meteorological one, for, all round Sic-

1 Strab., VI.2.11, C. 277; but according to Pliny, HN, III. 152, following Callimachus, these dogs came from the homonymous island, now Meleda, between Corfu and the Illyrian coast.

ily, winds generally blow from the west, becoming more and more regular during the sailing season, and blowing from west to northwest or even north between Sicily and Crete, from spring to late August. The real meteorological frontiers are in fact Sardinia and the Balearic archipelagos.

Nevertheless, Sicily determines two straits: the strait of Messina and the Channel between Africa and Sicily, the latter being itself divided into 3 channels :

- Malta Channel, north of a line drawn between Malta and Pantelleria,
- Sicily Channel, between Pantelleria and Sicily
- Pantelleria Channel between Pantelleria and Cape Bon

The strait of Messina is a very complex zone (Flesca 2002) : violent, sudden and turbulent winds, along with strong, alternate tidal streams, whose directions change every six hours, make it not only a very complex and dangerous zone, but also an area whose crossing may need several stops in order to wait for better conditions. The myth of Charybdis and Scylla reminds us the fears it inspired. In fact, journeys bound both southwards and northward along the strait could hardly be sailed in a straight line, given the capricious character of winds and the change of direction of tidal streams. It could take several days to go from the so-called "Adriatic" (the sea south Messina) to the Tyrrhenian basin and vice-versa. Several calls were necessary, as shown by the end of Paul's travel when the Apostle sailed, not on a small coaster, but on a grain-ship from Alexandria, which had wintered at Malta. Having left Malta it stopped first at Syracuse, then at Rhegium, before entering the Tyrrhenian, proceeding straight to Puteoli. Travelers often preferred to go by land between Syracuse and some port on the northern shores of Sicily. So did Apollonius of Tyana (Philostr. VA, V. 11; VIII. 15).

Though situated almost 40 nm east the direct line between Cape Bon and Cape Lilibeo, Pantelleria divides the Channel between Cape Bon and Cape Feto in two almost equal parts. In the main, this channel has the same orientation as the northwest prevailing winds, generating a reasonable current of half a knot to one knot, running eastwards, and getting stronger in Malta's channel. This undoubtedly made the direct route fast and easy for ships sailing eastwards, but longer and more difficult for those sailing in the opposite direction, especially for ancient sailing ships. This was also true for oared vessels, whose ability for tacking was scarce. One can imagine how difficult a westward journey must have been when a ship whose speed, under good conditions could hardly reach 3 knots, had to face a 1 kn. current from the opposite direction. This plight is especially accentuated when one considers that the best angle one could achieve was about 60° from the wind (and actually much less given the drift). Furthermore, the square sail, even when trans-

formed into a triangular one, made tacking a long and fastidious operation as the ship had to wear. The best solution would have been to sail southwards in order to reach the sheltered zones between Lesser Syrtis and Cape Bon, characterized by smooth summer sea-breezes blowing from the East.

Subjective geography and sea-routes

The way ancient writers used to describe those islands or how they inserted them in a series of sea-measurements gives a clear idea of some changes in their place in sea-routes, and in political sea-power. Islands, even those considered by ancient writers as "pelagic" ones (i.e. . those situated one day far or more from the mainland), such as Pantelleria, Malta and Gozo, were generally described apart from the mainland. However, after a certain stretch of land islands were supposed to fit with. The way they are described thus shows the subjective perception of their links with continents. Pantelleria, Malta, Gozo and Lampedusa are described by ps.-Skylax (111) with regard to Cape Bon, which is quite surprising as far as Malta, Gozo and Lampedusa are concerned, but is quite normal to who considers them as Punic islands, as ps.-Skylax did in the IVth century.

Diodorus Siculus (V. 12) chose to associate not only Malta and Gozo, but also Kerhennah, with Sicily, instead of Africa. This point of view is clearly an Italic one, and reflects the fall of these islands into Roman hands. On the other hand, Strabo, who uses at least three different sources, mentions the islands alternately as part of Sicily - the latter being considered as part of Italy (VI.2.11) -, or Africa (XVII.3.16). Later authors, writing after the Roman conquest, when these islands were made part of *prouincia Sicilia*, described them entirely with Sicily. In his overview of the Mediterranean, Strabo names Pantelleria, together with *Aegimuros*, as one of the islands "in front of Sicily and Libya" (II.5.19, C 123), but omits Malta, which found no place with respect to another land or the division of seas inherited from Eratosthenes. It seems that, by later times, Malta had no substantial existence in the Greek framework of the Mediterranean. According to Mela (II.7.120) and Pliny (III. 92), depending on the same lost unknown author, *Gaulos*, *Melita* and *Cossura* were *circa Siciliam*, but *Africam uersus* or *in Africam uersae* thus closer to Sicily, but on the way to Africa. Orosius (IV.8.5) names *Lipara* and *Melita* as *insulae Siciliae nobiles*. Some scholars (Silbermann) consider that according to Mela (II.7.120), Pliny (III.92), and Martianus Capella (VI. 648), all three islands were parts of the *fretum Siculum*. This is clearly true of Martianus Capella, but he probably misunderstood Mela, Pliny and their common source. According to Procopius (*BV* 1.14) Gaulus and Melita "marked the boundary between the Adriatic and Tuscan Seas". For classical writers down to Pliny, "Adriatic" meant the whole sea between Peloponnesus and Sicily. The Maltese Archipelago had later reached the status of boundary-marker between the central Mediterranean

system, and the west-Italian one, which then included Sicily.

Subjective geography thus shows that bridging one island with one continent or another relied much upon geopolitical considerations rather than upon Natural Landscape. It also reflects the reality of sea-routes. Pantelleria is almost always situated in respect of both Cape Bon or Kelybia (*Aspis/ Clupea*) and *Lilybaeum*.

Malta and Gozo were not considered by ancient writers as part of an archipelago. This is by no mean surprising: the same situation may be observed on other neighbouring city-islands such as Rhenea and Delos in the Cyclades. It is however of major interest to note that they belonged to a group of islands including Pantelleria, Gozo, Malta, Lampedusa and Kerkennah. In *Silius Italicus*, Malta appears before *Cossyra*, whose name, in contrast, occurs together with Gozo's (XI. 272-274). A natural link between Pantelleria and Malta is also suggested by the naming of Malta immediately after *Cossyrus*, as situated further East away from Cape Bon, and by Strabo's measurement (XVII.3.16) there was a very short distance between the two islands, that of 500 *stadia*. Editors have generally considered that the number is erroneous (it was probably closer to 1,500, equal to two days and one night at sea). This mistake may be traced to Strabo's source, who considered, like Silius Italicus, that Pantelleria and the Maltese archipelago were close together. In turn this perception was probably due to the speed of the eastward route between the two points.

On the contrary, the three Islands mentioned by Diodorus (Malta, Gozo and Kerkennah) mark the westwards sea-route between Sicily and Africa through the so-called *isole Pelagie*. This is the exact route followed by Belisarius' fleet[2] (Procop., *BV* 1.14), from Syracuse to Malta and Gozo, and thence, after a one day sail, on to *Caput-Vada* (Ras Kapudia), about 75° from the prevailing winds. Thence, ships sailing to Carthage had to follow the coastline and make for Cape Bon. This explains why Agathocles' fleet needed 6 days (DS XX.6.3) (after leaving from Syracuse) before sighting Africa and landing, maybe at Cape Bon (Casson 1971: 295, n.108), but possibly at any other point along the eastern shores of modern Tunisia. It was already familiar to an Athenian such as Thucydides, who was able to estimate its normal duration. The abnormally high freight-rate from Carthage to Sicily in the Diocletian's Prices Edict probably refers to the same route and to the same direction (Arnaud 2007), and shows that it was probably the normal route

2 "And setting sail quickly they touched at the islands of Gaulus and Melita,[47] which mark the boundary between the Adriatic and Tuscan Seas. There a strong east wind arose for them, and on the following day it carried the ships to the point of Libya, at the place which the Romans call in their own tongue "Shoal's Head." For its name is "Caputvada," and it is five days' journey from Carthage for an unencumbered traveller".

westwards (fig. 1).

A journey from Syracuse to Carthage may thus have lasted more than thrice the normal duration of the same journey in the reverse direction. The coasting part of the same route was probably followed by the Peloponnesian, sent off in the spring from Peloponnese in the merchantman, who arrived from *Neapolis*, in Libya, at Selinus in August. Thucydides considered *Neapolis* (= Nabeul) as "the nearest point to Sicily, which is only two days' and a night's voyage" to Selinus (Thc., VII.50.2). Pantelleria was just in the middle of this route and visible from Nabeul. Although *Aspis/Clupea* is geographically closer to Sicily, *Neapolis* is actually closer for a ship sailing from Lesser Syrtis.

By the mid 4th century, when Pantelleria was reaching a noteworthy place in trade-routes, as shown by the importance of the so-called "Pantellerian ware" ceramics (Massa 2002), the *Expositio totius mundi et gentium* lists Sicily (66), *Cossora* (67) and Sardinia (68), suggesting that they were part of a same route, maybe in a broader context characterised by the increasing importance of coasting, making Pantelleria a convenient relay.

It is thus clear that the islands organized, at least as landmarks, and possibly as commercial calls, relays or destinations, were the major sea-routes round Sicily. The unusual importance of Marettimo in the maritime itinerary within the *Itinerarium Antonini* as compared with Pantelleria suggests that it reflects the "direct" route between Carthage and Pozzuoli/Rome (Arnaud 2004).

It is otherwise noteworthy that, according to the Ancients, as early as Dicaearch, Rhodes, the southernmost capes of Peloponnesus, the Strait of Messina (*fretum Siculum* or, in Greek, simply "*Porthmos*", "the Strait" par excellence), South of Sardinia, the Pillars of Herakles and Gades were distributed along the same parallel. The shape of Sicily was supposed to be roughly that of an equilateral triangle whose horizontal base was made of the shores between Cape Lilybaeum and Cape Pachynum, so that, for the Ancients, the shortest way from East to West did not run through the Sicily-Malta Channel, but through the Strait of Messina. This misconception is a direct consequence of the opinion held by the Greeks that the Straits of Messina provided a more convenient sailing route (fig. 2-3).

Changes in subjective geography indicate changes in perception of the importance of islands which reflect actual changes of their role and integration in maritime trade-routes: the emergence of Malta and Gozo as the boundary-mark between two systems, is probably the clearest sign of such changes that was impacted by Roman domination (Arnaud 2004).

Islandscape: changes and permanencies in their historical contexts. The making of maritime frontiers and Trade Patterns

It seems difficult to study Islands without reference to their political and economic contexts. When one considers Malta, it is necessary to recall Horatio Nelson's perception of its geo-strategical role as a sea-fortress, as well as its role during the first years of World War II. But in general the place of the islands in ancient geo-strategic perceptions was actually very different to that of Nelson.

As remote places, they appear as the place *par excellence* for piracy, until a naval power would secure the sea from that plague (Thc., I.8.1-2). Islands have no consistency unless they were part of regional or global thalassocracies. In about 400 BC, an old Athenian oligarch (ps.- Xén., *Const. Ath*., II.2) wrote: "subject peoples on land can combine small cities and fight collectively, but subject peoples at sea, by virtue of being islanders, cannot join their cities together into the same unit. For the sea is in the way, and those now in power are thalassocrats. If it is possible for islanders to combine unnoticed on a single island, they will die of starvation". Islands are markets. This induced islands to a high level of specialisation in production, in order to furnish the *emporoï* with items on their way back. This is precisely the scheme Diodorus Siculus still had in mind when he described Malta's economy (V.12.3).

The same seems to consider the history of the Western Mediterranean as a succession of thalassocracies. What is in fact having power at sea? Thalassocracy relies on the making of maritime borders. This meant :

- firstly the control of the sea itself within these frontiers, thanks to an unchallenged navy based in naval stations (*naustathmoï*), which in turn were located in strategic places;
- securing the sea-shore through a network of garrisons (*phrouria*) settled in towers (*pyrgoï*) and strongholds (*phrouria*, *epiteïchismata*, *coloniae maritimae*);
- Treaties of friendship, stipulating the conditions of sailing and trade within the space under control.

Naval Stations and strongholds

Making the maritime frontiers hermetic and the sea someone's lake was actually almost an impossible task: even under Athenian blockage, 12 warships could elude the ships on guard and enter the harbour of Syracuse (Thc., VII.7), and the Athenian oligarch tells us how easily "the rulers of the sea can just do what rulers of the land sometimes do: ravage the territory of the stronger. For, wherever there is no enemy (or wherever enemies are few) it is possible to put along the coast." Many such raids and attacks are known of through ancient sources.

There is no proof that any of these islands was ever a naval station, but they should have become naval stations (App., *BC*, V. 97.405). The main control pattern was installing either a stronghold and garrisons (*praesidia*, *phrouria*). Such is the case of Malta, where a Punic garrison of 2,000 men, but apparently no fleet, was captured by Ti. Sempronius in 218 (Liv. XXI. 51), or in *Cossyra*, apparently left undefended by the Carthaginians and captured in 217 by Gn. Servilius, who left there a garrison. These could be housed in two or three towers (ps. –Skyl., 111), such as in Lampedusa. It seems that the standard Hellenistic island-garrison pattern was the city-fortress, and that it did not differ than the usual shore-patterns, but was much weaker. It was probably enough to provide good fiscal control, but was clearly unable to resist an entire fleet, mainly because an island is naturally besieged by sea, and unable to call for help. There is no proof that there was a Punic naval station.

Trade and Treaties

Until the Roman conquest, the main pattern of ancient maritime intercourse is to be found in treaties. These established unchallenged leaderships on certain zones and thence a conventionally based state of peace, and the conditions of its permanency, whose violation induced a state of war. Polybius (III.22-25) had made a copy of the text of three treaties between Rome and Carthage as represented on the then still extant bronze tablets in the *aerarium* of the *aediles* near the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus. The date of these and exact prescriptions have been much disputed and shall not be discussed here. Furthermore, the text may not be neither wholly nor exactly quoted by Polybius. The first one is allegedly dated to 509, the second seem to go back to the late fourth century. The third one has generally been related to the context of Pyrrhus' wars.

Whatever may be the exact location of the "Fair Promontory", and *Mastia Tarseiôn* (or *Mastia* and *Tarseion*), the main dispositions organized the Leaderships, around regulations that can be summarized as an interdiction to maraud, trade, or found a city in specified areas:

- Sailing was forbidden beyond specified points, "unless driven by stress of weather or the fear of enemies". In such areas, technical calls for provisions, ship-repairs or the worship of gods were tolerated, as long as the sojourn did not exceed five days;
- Trade was prohibited in these areas;
- Marauding and founding cities in the other's leadership area was forbidden;
- Trade was allowed only in certain places under the control of local officials "Men landing for trade shall strike no bargain save in the presence of a herald or town-clerk. Whatever is sold in the presence of these, let the price be secured to the seller on the credit of the state";

- Later clauses established the competency of local jurisdictions to settle conflicts and avoid private vengeance. The model is probably that of the Athenian *dikaï emporikaï*.

This reflects the global trade pattern of the classical and Hellenistic period down to the Roman Empire, based upon the *emporion* feature. The exact meaning of *emporion* has been much discussed, but it seems possible to consider an acceptable definition that *emporion* was a trade-harbour placed under the control of local authorities, where merchants could traffic legally under the conditions stipulated by the treaties, with the necessary warranties and protection. It is very probable that trade outside *emporia* was to be considered smuggling (Bresson 2008: 98-118), and that trade operations were possible only after the cargo to be sold had been unloaded and registered by authorities, making it a heavy operation.

The trade patterns of the pre-Roman imperial period were drawn by the converging interests of city-State (supplies, taxes), systems of production (specialized economies organized for exportation) and ancient traders, whose goal was making big enough benefits in buying a cargo at a certain point and selling it another place (including the costs of taxes and ship-rental) to maintain himself.

Emporion undoubtedly framed trade, organizing it around a limited number of trade-harbours. But trade-harbour in itself probably does not mean a single invariant model. The distinction between dock-harbour receiving and exporting goods from remote places, and ports primarily exporting local productions is undoubtedly too rigid. The availability of local exportable production, such as Malta's textiles and Pantellerian ware, could drive traders to such places either as primary destinations, or as secondary places. It is noteworthy that either textiles or plates are light items that could be loaded without any detriment to primary cargoes.

That said, let us now consider at least two kinds of emporia (as international trade-places), aside with just "technical calls":

- the "port-entrepôt", where goods from several origins converged and whence they were re-exported
- the specialized harbour, exporting goods produced in the hinterland, having special commercial activity in remote countries

We may imagine that illegal parallel systems did exist, even if quantities were nowhere near those involved in the official market.

According to Polybius' paraphrase, in the first two treaties the Carthaginians forbade the Romans to sail beyond the Fair Promontory, because "they did not wish them to be acquainted with the coast near Byzacium, or the lesser Syrtis, which places they call *Emporia*, owing to the productiveness of the district". This leaves one with no doubt at all that the Fair Promontory coincides with Cape Bon (Petzold 1972; Desanges 1990; Moret 2002). During the same period, these *emporia* were familiar to the Greeks of Cyrene and to those of Athens and Sicily (Thc., 7.50.2). This clearly indicates that, until Rhegium fell into Roman hands, there existed two distinct trade-areas.

The classical trade pattern was based on exclusion as well as integration, and on strong navy fleets to protect the exclusion clauses of the treaties. There is no limit to the circulation of goods, which may be considered as global, but trade operations were very rigid and entirely controlled by the city for its own benefit.

We may wonder how far the Roman peace may have changed these patterns: fiscal barriers still did exist, but freedom now existed in sailing, allowing more frequent calls, and a major possibility of buying "secondary", light cargoes. The main limit to this freedom probably consisted in maritime loan contracts themselves who could forbid such calls (*Dig*., 45.1.122 = Scaevola, *Dig*., 28).

The Islands on sea-routes : Calls, ports of Trade, landmarks or forgotten places?

Islands may have been calls en route to other places or final commercial destinations. Their role may have been as principal or secondary "warehouse harbours", or as transhipment harbours.

Pantelleria is a well documented sample and according to recent studies, may have been one of such harbours. First, it must be noted that the island is not on the direct route from Carthage to Lilybaeum.

Recent articles have pointed out the importance of Pantelleria in ancient traffic (Baldassari & Fontana 2002; Chilà 2002; Massa 2002; Monti 2002; Quercia 2006). It has even been said that, after the second Punic war, "l'isola divenne un luogo di stoccaggio delle merci e un emporio dove si potevano acquistare prodotti italici" (Baldassari & Fontana 2002: 987), but the five wrecks, dated between the late IIIrd century and the mid-II^{d} century AD, which are supposed to prove this assertion, actually do not provide enough evidence to sustain such definitive conclusions. Although these represent about 50% of known wrecks around the island, their mixed cargo of graeco-italic and African amphorae produced in Carthage (or the homogeneous cargo of African amphorae) does not in itself provide enough

proof that these ships were wrecked while unloading. The lack of wrecks with Pantellerian ware exports and imports from the rest of the Roman world reached their peak by the II[d] century AD. The extreme banality of the cargoes of these wrecks (only one of which has been studied with acceptable level of accuracy) within Punic contemporary contexts makes it more likely to think of ships diverted from their original route by one or more north-west gales. This can be inferred from their location on the north-east shores of the island.

It is nevertheless clear that there was a real boom of imports during the III[rd] century BC; at the same time the so-called Pantellerian ware started to be exported in noteworthy quantities (Massa 2002). It is also clear that the ceramic and amphora imports follow synchronic evolutions down to the III[rd] century AD.

Under the Roman Empire, when the island reached the highest level of ceramic exports, a huge underwater dump at Scauri (south west coast of the island) demonstrates that there used to be a harbour or a mooring place where hulls were cleaned from all the broken material. It seems highly probable that Pantelleria, which along the main commercial routes was then a commercial destination in itself, as a centre of consumption and whose survival was dependent upon importations, especially wine and salt-fish. In all likelihood, grain was also imported but archaeological traces of this consumable are unfortunately not visible.

Such contexts allow one to consider two possible commercial patterns:

- a specialized redistribution pattern: the exportation to Pantelleria of mixed cargoes of vital goods, and importing from it a very special item : Pantellerian ware. A ballast, or ballast cargo, was then necessary.
- A secondary redistribution pattern. Ships on the way to another far away destination, stopped en route at Pantelleria in order to buy a secondary cargo of ceramics, and possibly unloading part of their main cargo.

The Scauri wreck, dated VI-VIIth century, loaded with a mixed, but specialized, cargo of ceramics, including Pantellerian ware, may have unloaded amphorae at Pantelleria. This is however not certain at all as we have no clear information about how the cargo was organized within the vessel.

It has been demonstrated that redistribution patterns became more local and specialized long-range commerce, with homogeneous cargoes became a characteristic of Late Antique and Early medieval trade-patterns (Reynolds 1995). Mixed cargoes, together with specialized ones were a major pattern of the Roman period and their exact meaning as to whether these originated from redistribution at “warehouse harbours” or tramping, is still a matter of discussion. The same can

also be said with regard to the exact meaning of "primary" and "secondary cargoes" (Houston 1988; Nieto 1988; Parker 1992; Nieto 1997; Horden & Purcell 2000). The archaeological evidence to sustain these arguments remain very ambiguous. It is anyway highly probable that segmented sailing on small or medium-size ships made islands attractive as possible convenient calls on a main route, not only for technical but also for commercial purposes. That was especially the case when very specialized items were available there. This is the case with Malta's linen and Pantellerian ware.

Permanent trade-activities were then possible for ships loading secondary cargoes, without selling anything, for ships making those islands special commercial destinations, and for tramping, especially on ships whose nauclerus was partially or entirely the one chartering the vessel. The latter situation does not appear to be exceptional.

Any change in global trade patterns and sea-routes may thus have had a strong impact not only on the role of the island in the broader cultural maritime landscape, but also the economic system and specialized productions of any single island: Malta's textile production probably did not make sense outside the global route-system and trade-patterns of the classical world. It is also noteworthy that textiles, the only known exportation from Malta, is a light produce. This may have been a primary load in terms of value, but a secondary one in terms of weight and volumes within the vessel. The way in which Diodorus Siculus (V.12.3) insists on the role of *emporoï* in the development of a high quality standard of living in Malta suggests commercial sources of wealth and availability of goods which cannot be reduced to textiles. We should therefore consider that harbour facilities, wintering opportunities and the place of Malta at the articulation of several routes, in the vicinity of complex sailing zones made it also, although not only, a possible transhipment harbour. Marettimo doesn't seem to have been more than a landmark or possible mooring place along blue sea routes.

The short space allowed for this paper did not permit more than a broad survey. This is enough to show that every island seems to be singular during each period of history. Nothing such as islandscape appears to be a common feature to all three islands. The globalization of Mediterranean Trade and their position along busy sailing routes made them undoubtedly more and more dependant upon imports in an integrated production and trade-pattern. Their evolution seems to be significantly more linked with their position along certain sea-routes rather than with them being islands. It is unfortunately very difficult to drive firm conclusions about their exact role in actual trade and sailing patterns from existing evidence.

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List of Figures (see on line version)

Per Nathan

Sicilia e Malta in età fenicia e punica: problemi e prospettive

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"*Sicilia e Malta nell'età fenicio-punica è un tema di vivo interesse e al tempo stesso di notevole problematicità. Senza precedenti nella storia degli studi, la ricerca pone quesiti nuovi, spesso inquietanti per la carenza di documentazione ovvero per la difformità della documentazione stessa, sicché viene da chiedersi se la ricerca sia legittima, o almeno fino a qual punto. E infatti, per raffrontare due aree di cultura occorre che esse abbiano certi denominatori comuni, anche al di là del semplice fatto etnico determinato dalla componente fenicio-punica e della relativa contiguità geografica. In ultima analisi, non v'è certezza preliminare di risultati, o almeno di risultati positivi. E tuttavia, appunto la premessa etnica e quella geografica, unite a quella cronologica, giustificano la trattazione che seguirà, dato come presupposto che, in tali circostanze, anche le risultanze negative non sono senza significato*".

Così scriveva Sabatino Moscati, in una lucida sintesi elaborata in occasione del IV Congresso Internazionale di Studi sulla Sicilia antica (Moscati 1976-77: 147).

Proprio la lettura della pagina sopra citata, dalla quale prenderà l'avvio la nostra indagine, ci impone di verificare se oggi, a distanza di più di trent'anni, le premesse iniziali nonché i problemi relativi alla metodologia della ricerca possano risultare ancora validi, tenuto conto del proseguo delle ricerche e degli studi che negli anni sono venuti certamente ad accrescere il patrimonio delle conoscenze nel campo dell'archeologia fenicia e punica di Malta e Sicilia.

Non è questa la sede per passare in rassegna la storia degli studi sul tema oggetto del nostro contributo, né per tentare una sintesi delle ricerche archeologiche condotte nelle due isole, ma non possiamo non menzionare Antonia Ciasca, che a Mozia e a Malta concentrò gran parte delle proprie indagini, dalle quali nacquero numerosi lavori che rimangono imprescindibili punti fermi,

imperativi per rigore metodologico, riteniamo, anche per le future generazioni di storici e archeologi.

Alla luce dei dati oggi disponibili possiamo tentare di delineare possibili linee di ricerca muovendo da alcune riflessioni di carattere generale per poi passare all'analisi di specifici aspetti inerenti la cultura materiale, dalla quale, ovviamente, non possiamo prescindere.

Che l'arcipelago maltese, per la strategica posizione geografica, abbia assunto, in età fenicia e punica, un ruolo di rilievo nel Mediterraneo centrale - facile da ipotizzare se solo richiamiamo alla mente le modalità e i tempi della navigazione antica - appare una considerazione più che ovvia, che del resto ben si allinea in una ideale continuità con quanto noto per i secoli precedenti. Ove si tenti invece di inquadrare le testimonianze archeologiche maltesi nel complesso panorama della cosiddetta 'espansione fenicia', secondo paradigmi forse troppo canonici applicati ad altre aree del Mediterraneo, emergono subito difficoltà di ordine metodologico, sulle quali vale forse la pena soffermarsi.

La storia di un'isola non è mai isolata, per usare un gioco di parole, e la storia di Sicilia e quella di Malta lo dimostrano: se poi si tratta di un'isola di piccole dimensioni, priva di importanti risorse naturali, lo studio dell'economia di sussistenza delle comunità locali diventa necessariamente fondante per qualsiasi tipo di indagine si voglia intraprendere; occorre dunque recuperare strumenti di ricerca adeguati, in parte individuati da recenti indagini volte a rintracciare una metodologia adatta a quella che è stata definita l'"archeologia delle isole" (Patton 1996; Lätsch 2005). Così, per fare un esempio forse fin troppo banale, l'ingresso di una nave in un porto costituisce sempre un avvenimento importante, ma il sopraggiungere di una nave nel porto di un'isola diventa un 'evento', assume cioè una valenza ben diversa, se vogliamo considerare i navigli che solcavano il nostro Mediterraneo come vettori sì della cultura materiale sulla quale gli archeologi indagano, ma anche, talora, forieri di nuovi apporti, in termini di risorse alimentari, di nuovi nuclei di popolazioni, il cui sbarco a terra è qualche volta connesso ad eventi drammatici.

L'occupazione fenicia delle isole dell'arcipelago maltese non fu certamente finalizzata alla fondazione di 'colonie di popolamento'; non è da prendere in considerazione neppure il tipo dell'*emporion*, per utilizzare un termine greco entrato di fatto anche nel lessico dell'archeologia fenicio-punica. Neppure una cosiddetta 'testa di ponte' verso mete più lontane. Perplessità desta anche il termine francese *enclave*, che pare abbia avuto origine nella terminologia diplomatica dall'aggettivo tardo latino *inclavatus*, "chiuso a chiave". 'Malta is thus distanced from the settlement pattern defined in Carthage or Motya, which shows a marked

tendency toward concentrating the population spatially' (Aubet 2001: 234). Forse se riteniamo valido l'assunto, mi sembra, forse fin troppo ovvio, che non possiamo applicare un unico modello all'espansione fenicia in Occidente, avremo forse uno strumento in più per constatare che ogni fondazione sembra infatti legata ad un episodio specifico e definito, al quale rispondono e sottendono innanzitutto le caratteristiche topografiche del sito prescelto, ricordando peraltro che la ricerca di una definizione risponde semplicemente soltanto a nostre esigenze tassonomiche, che poco hanno a che fare con la realtà antica.

Quanti si occupano di questi temi hanno dunque imparato a riconoscere una 'specificità maltese' che distingue le testimonianze isolane da quelle individuate in altre aree interessate dalla diaspora fenicia. Qualora si tratti però di dimostrare ed evidenziare i caratteri di tali specificità, emergono immediatamente quei problemi di ordine metodologico cui sopra si accennava: procedere evidenziando le differenze, analizzando le tematiche di ordine storico-topografico, strettamente archeologico, ove possibile linguistico, o sottolineare invece le convergenze, evidenziando cioè elementi comuni?

Anche la Sicilia, del resto, presenta una propria specificità in tale contesto: essa è infatti l'unica regione ove l'elemento fenicio viene a contatto diretto con le colonie greche, e questo contatto - che in realtà, a dispetto di quanto afferma Tucidide, è molto spesso uno scontro - sarà determinante per la nascita e la storia delle città fenicie dell'isola. Perché tutto ciò non rimanga semplicemente un luogo comune mi piace mostrare una immagine, ripresa da Solunto, del sito della greca Himera (*Fig. 1*), e, di seguito, Solunto vista dalla 'città alta' della colonia calcidese (*Fig. 2*). I dati connessi ai cosiddetti "punti di visibilità", ormai pienamente adottati nell'ambito delle indagini topografiche più recenti, costituiscono a mio parere elementi essenziali, punto di partenza per l'avvio di ogni ricostruzione storica.

Il santuario fenicio di Sicilia più famoso nell'antichità, come è noto, si trova in una città che fenicia non è, l'elima Erice, e presento una immagine del monte da Mozia (*Fig. 3*). Tra le diverse ipotesi di lettura avanzate sulla funzione 'strategica' del suddetto santuario, del quale purtroppo non ci rimane nulla se non tardive immagini datate ad età romana repubblicana, al di là di ogni possibile ricostruzione storico-antropologica, ci sembrano da accogliere di nuovo argomentazioni connesse a quella 'visibilità' di cui parlavamo sopra: nella rotta proveniente da Cartagine, il Monte Erice costituiva un punto di riferimento essenziale.

Se il segno vale più della parola, le immagini che abbiamo appena visto, ci sembra, non necessitano di ulteriori commenti, e risultano assai significative per iniziare a definire quella specificità cui sopra accennavamo.

Scorrendo la bibliografia più recente sulle due isole (ci limitiamo a citare Bonanno 1990; Said-Zammit 1997; Bonanno, Frendo, Vella (ed.) 2000; Said-Zammit 2000-2003; Rossignani 2005-06, Sagona, Vella Gregory & Bugeja 2006, e per la Sicilia Spanò Giammellaro 2000; Spanò Giammellaro 2001; Spatafora 2005a; Greco 2000; Greco 2005, Bondì 2002), meno copiosa in verità se confrontata con le recenti pubblicazioni relative ad altre aree del Mediterraneo ove si registra una costante e capillare ricerca archeologica, scavi e prospezioni anche sul territorio limitrofo ai centri urbani - pensiamo alla Spagna, ma anche alla Sardegna - emerge l'assenza di alcuni quesiti che, forse perché giudicati senza risposta, inspiegabilmente non compaiono neppure nelle trattazioni manualistiche: chi furono i fondatori delle città fenicie di Sicilia? Da quali città d'Oriente mossero i primi coloni? Cosa ha indotto gli studiosi di 'storia fenicia' a tentare ricostruzioni 'parallele e assolutamente indipendenti' tra Fenici d'Oriente e Fenici d'Occidente? Può l'esame della cultura materiale aiutarci a trovare possibili soluzioni? É da attribuire ad una erronea percezione delle modalità di svolgimento degli spostamenti di genti la sensazione che nel momento in cui le navi fenicie salpano dall'Oriente, e dopo vari scali in un percorso non troppo difficile da seguire giungono a destinazione, l'Oriente venga dimenticato?

Certamente lo stato della documentazione risulta determinante: purtroppo siamo costretti a indagare non una storia dei Fenici ma una storia delle città fenicie, e in particolare di quei pochi centri che, a quanto pare, ebbero in sorte di monopolizzare l'attenzione degli scrittori antichi, facendo riferimento ovviamente agli autori classici.

Per la Sicilia, fatta eccezione per Mozia, che conserva intatte le testimonianze archeologiche dell'antico passato, i dati archeologici degli altri centri di fondazione fenicia risultano di difficile lettura: le conoscenze della antica *Panormos* sono connesse soprattutto alle necropoli, anche recenti indagini archeologiche hanno portato alla luce alcuni settori dell'antico impianto urbano (Spatafora 2000, Spatafora 2005b, Spatafora c.d.s.); risolto il problema della Solunto arcaica, ormai definitivamente collocata sul pianoro di Solanto, anche in questo caso le informazioni provengono sostanzialmente dalle aree cimiteriali (Greco 2000), per quanto nuovi dati siano venuti ad aggiungersi grazie al rinvenimento di un quartiere artigianale (Greco 2005). La Solunto di età ellenistica è ovviamente un'altra storia. Stessa situazione per Lilibeo: la ricchezza dei corredi funerari e la distribuzione delle diverse aree necropoliche testimoniano l'opulenza della città, divenuta caposaldo di Cartagine in Sicilia dopo la distruzione di Mozia del 397 a.C.

Anche per Malta dobbiamo necessariamente constatare il fatto che la gran

parte dei dati proviene anche qui dalle necropoli, mentre il santuario di Tas Silg, a mio parere, va inserito in un contesto assai particolare: la cultura materiale proveniente infatti dall'area sacra, ritengo, non va assolutamente utilizzata, né per confronti né tanto meno per ricostruzioni ad ampio raggio, se non strettamente inquadrata nel contesto di pertinenza, cioè l'ambito votivo, punto di riferimento essenziale per la vita religiosa dell'isola e che quindi può essere rapportata soltanto ad altri contesti analoghi: per la Sicilia mi viene in mente quale possibile confronto soltanto il santuario di Erice, del quale, come è noto, purtroppo dal punto di vista archeologico non ci è perventuto praticamente nulla.

Sappiamo che quando i Fenici - non è dato conoscere da quale precisa realtà geografica né urbana provenissero - giunsero a Mozia, l'isola doveva probabilmente essere disabitata: una occupazione più antica del sito, da collocare alla Media Età del Bronzo, è testimoniata da numerosi frammenti ceramici editi da Francesca Spatafora, che ha inoltre ipotizzato una distinzione su base topografica di diversi settori dell'isola: strutture comunitarie nell'area settentrionale (necropoli), aree di abitato a Sud (Spatafora 2000). Le indagini archeologiche hanno dimostrato come i nuovi venuti abbiano pienamente ripreso il modello insediamentale precedente: di nuovo aree comunitarie (necropoli, aree industriali) a Nord, l'abitato a Sud (*Fig. 4*) (Spanò Giammellaro 2000).

Come per altri centri, viene dunque abbozzata subito una divisione del territorio, in realtà di modeste dimensioni ove si consideri l'ampiezza dell'isola.

I corredi più antichi non contengono materiali greci, assenti anche dagli strati più antichi del *tophet*, prudentemente ricondotti da Antonia Ciasca nell'ambito del VII sec. a.C. Tra la fine dell'VIII e gli inizi del VII sec. a.C. viene inquadrato il II livello della "Zona E", che si sovrappone a livelli preistorici (Famà & Toti 2000: 454-465). Per quanto riguarda la necropoli, il tipo dell'*aryballos* globulare protocorinzio trova i confronti più stretti a Pithecussa e a Cuma (Di Stefano 2005: 595-600). Il repertorio ceramico di tradizione fenicia non si distacca da quanto noto per altri centri interessati dall'espansione fenicia.

Elemento di rilievo, mi sembra, la cospicua presenza, sia dal punto di vista numerico che per varietà tipologica, di ceramica protocorinzia e corinzia: la mediazione della componente rodio-cretese, rappresentata da Gela, fortemente riconoscibile sia nelle importazioni moziesi, sia negli influssi sulla cultura figurativa, in momenti successivi della storia della città, è ovviamente improponibile per chiari problemi cronologici. Bisognerà dunque indagare per altre rotte: non possediamo dati per le importazioni della Solunto arcaica tali da permettere confronti plausibili, ma certamente la ceramica protocorinzia e corinzia

restituita dalla necropoli palermitana è quantitativamente e qualitativamente assai inferiore rispetto ai ritrovamenti moziesi (Tardo c.d.s.).

Diverso e più complesso è il caso di Malta. Nulla al momento ci autorizza a ipotizzare che l'isola al momento dell'insediamento di nuclei di orientali fosse disabitata, anzi tutto lascia pensare il contrario. La disposizione degli insediamenti è dettata necessariamente dalle caratteristiche topografiche delle aree di occupazione. Elemento fondamentale, è quasi ovvio, l'approvigionamento d'acqua dolce: non solo per la sussistenza della comunità appena insediata, ma anche per le navi che, allora come oggi, nel momento in cui toccano terra devono necessariamente caricarne abbondante scorta.

La lettura delle testimonianze più antiche evidenzia, come è noto, sulla base della dislocazione delle aree necropoliche, una occupazione dell'area corrispondente alla moderna città di Rabat, chiaramente favorevole, soprattutto per la presenza di sorgenti, all'insediamento di una comunità che comunque, nelle fasi più antiche, non dobbiamo ipotizzare assai consistente dal punto di vista numerico, come del resto è il caso di Mozia. Le aree portuali, almeno nelle fase più antiche non hanno al momento restituito elementi che consentono di ipotizzare la presenza di insediamenti stabili, seppure è facile supporre l'esistenza di quartieri 'extra-urbani" (Bonanno 1990).

Lascio ancora una volta da parte Tas Silg, da inquadrare in un contesto assolutamente distinto, poiché la frequentazione di luoghi di culto "indigeni" può sovente precedere l'affermarsi degli insediamenti stabili, e non va inoltre dimenticato che i reperti ivi rinvenuti - soprattutto beni di prestigio (pensiamo agli avori, assenti in Sicilia) e offerte votive - erano soggetti a particolari modalità di circolazione, difficili oggi da individuare, spesso non limitate a semplici scambi commerciali.

Mi sono sempre chiesta, nell'osservare il diacronico sviluppo urbano e insediamentale delle città fenicie d'Occidente, se per tale crescita, evidentemente soprattutto demografica, non sia da ipotizzare un ulteriore arrivo di nuovi coloni dalla madrepatria. Seppure sia questa una ipotesi ancora tutta da dimostrare, si spiegherebbero così quelle trasformazioni, talora l'improvviso emergere di nuovi impulsi, ben visibili nella cultura materiale, che ancora non riusciamo a comprendere se strettamente inquadrati nella realtà locale. Così, ad esempio, se guardiamo al VI secolo, a Mozia la importante testimonianza delle stele votive rinvenute nel *tophet*, che soprattutto in relazione alle iconografie adottate non sempre trovano confronti cogenti con le coeve produzioni cartaginesi, come pure rimane ancora da spiegare la significativa attestazione di elementi 'arcaizzanti' con

prevalenti influssi ciprioti riscontrata su diverse classi artigianali.

Quanto a Malta, devo dire che la notizia della fondazione di Acholla, fino a quando non saremo in possesso di dati archeologici probanti, mi lascia perplessa, sia se poniamo la fondazione al VII secolo, cioè prima del pieno controllo cartaginese del territorio nordafricano, come ipotizzava Moscati, sia in epoca successiva. Diverse le possibilità di intendere la notizia di Stefano di Bizanzio: l'allontanamento evidentemente programmato di un gruppo di genti, può essere ricondotto ad un momento di difficoltà interne: forse ad una fase di *surplus* demografico o con maggiore probabilità ad esigenze di sussistenza interna della comunità, che per un'isola come Malta possiamo immaginare legata al problema dell'approvvigionamento idrico, quindi ipotizzando lunghi periodi di siccità. Ma siamo nel campo delle pure ipotesi.

Per passare all'esame della cultura materiale, accostare alcuni tra i corredi più antichi di Mozia e Malta non ci sembra un'operazione producente, se non per lo studio specifico delle singole classi, tenendo conto peraltro dello stato della documentazione archeologica maltese, nella maggior parte dei casi avulsa dai contesti di rinvenimento. Numerosi esempi potrebbero dunque essere richiamati, che in ogni caso testimoniano la presenza in entrambe le isole di manufatti simili dal punto di vista morfologico: citiamo il caso di monili in argento (orecchini a cestello, pendenti di forma semilunata, anelli sigillari, medaglioni decorati a granulazione) (*Figg. 5-6*) da riportare a tipologie ormai ben note inquadrabili in un orizzonte piuttosto omogeneo (ad es. Sagona 2003: 284, Figs 6, 7; Spanò Giammellaro 1989: Figs. 30-32). Cosa provi tutto questo, se non l'evidenza di una matrice culturale comune e una circolazione di tipi noti, peraltro ben attestati anche in altre aree dell'Occidente fenicio, rimane ancora da chiarire, come pure il problema dei centri di produzione e di smistamento di tali manufatti.

Sempre per rimanere nell'ambito dei contesti funerari, non si spiega ad esempio l'esiguità di attestazioni a Malta della bottiglia con bocca a fungo (considerata ormai il fossile guida dell'archeologia fenicio-punica): i rari frammenti sembrano rimandare nei tratti morfologici alla 'koinè fenicio-cipriota' (Peserico 1996: 124). Questo dato contrasta con la ricca e variegata produzione moziese, per la quale si conosce un'ampia seriazione cronologica e tipologica, che non trova corrispondenza nella documentazione di Palermo e Solunto; si potrebbe in questo caso prudentemente ipotizzare l'esistenza nelle diverse aree di differenti usanze rituali collegate al momento del seppellimento: ma non possiamo aggiungere altro.

Quanto al fenomeno della 'imitazione' di forme estranee al repertorio

ceramico locale, per Malta numerose evidenze sono state segnalate da Antonia Ciasca: la *kylix*, la coppa a labbro distinto, riprodotta a Cartagine, ma anche a Mozia, trova corrispondenza anche a Malta, ove è testimoniata da frammenti provenienti dagli scarichi votivi di Tas Silg (*Fig. 7*) (Ciasca 2000: 1288, Fig. 1). Connessa all'uso del vino, probabilmente è da collegare a pratiche rituali sulle quali nulla è dato conoscere; nel microcosmo maltese potrebbe forse essere ricondotta non alle comunità locali, per le quali non è documentata al momento l'adozione del banchetto di tradizione greca, ma ai frequentatori del santuario, protagonisti e vettori di quelli che la studiosa definiva 'fenomeni tangenziali'. Dunque non vere e proprie influenze sulla cultura locale, ma segni di un passaggio, forse non troppo rapido, nel quale comunque le officine locali riconoscono una possibile committenza, dato questo che spiegherebbe le rare attestazioni del tipo all'interno dei corredi funerari.

La ricezione degli influssi del geometrico greco, assente al momento a Malta, costituisce per Mozia comunque l'esempio più eclatante e ci si chiede se la mediazione non possa essere avvenuta attraverso la circolazione della ceramica indigena dipinta (Ciasca 1999: 71).

Stante la documentazione limitata sull'isola di importazione di ceramica greca a vernice nera (Semeraro 2003) - un fenomeno che, come è noto, contrasta con quanto sappiamo da altri centri fenici d'Occidente, a cominciare da Cartagine - , alcune forme ceramiche di tradizione attica vengono comunque imitate, pur in forme semplificate, nel V e nel IV sec. a.C., come è noto senza alcun tentativo di riprodurne il colore scuro: coppe e piatti, soprattutto, la forma "*bolsal*", "*incurving rim*", fino a giungere alle contaminazioni di forme attiche e il c.d. piatto ombelicato punico (*Fig. 8*) (Ciasca 2000: 1289, Figs 3-5). Attraverso quale percorso tali suggestioni siano approdate sull'isola, dalla Sicilia o dall'Italia meridionale non è al momento ancora chiaro, ma, mi sento di poter affermare, non è detto che l'una ipotesi escluda l'altra.

Il tema delle imitazioni di repertori 'altri' trova a Mozia un osservatorio privilegiato: numerose matrici sono state rinvenute in diversi settori dell'isola; protomi femminili di produzione siceliota vengono importate ma anche riprodotte nel tipico impasto moziese (Beer 2000); *skyphoi* di imitazione corinzia provengono sia dall'area della necropoli che dall'abitato (Famà & Toti 2000: 453, Tav. LXXXVIII,7), mentre rare risultano simili attestazioni a Malta, per le quali sarebbe importante stabilire se di effettiva produzione locale (Ciasca 2000: Fig. 1); sono noti *alabastra* in terracotta che imitano i preziosi contenitori in vetro policromo, peraltro ben attestati a Mozia stessa. Ma gli esempi potrebbero continuare.

Le testimonianze archeologiche relative alla vita quotidiana degli antichi coloni, forse possono aiutarci a gettare luce su uno dei fenomeni più intriganti dell'antichità: quella dei cosiddetti matrimoni misti.

Considerata l'esiguità del numero degli abitanti delle città antiche, fatta eccezione per grossi centri come Cartagine, e ovviamente le città della madrepatria, le donne "fenicie" in occidente non dovettero poi essere così numerose. Soprattutto poi nel caso di piccoli *emporia*, è facile ipotizzare come ad un esiguo numero di donne "di prima generazione", si siano nel tempo aggiunte, nella seconda e terza generazione anche donne di diverse origini etniche.

Se la trasmissione delle conoscenze e quindi l'educazione della donna avveniva all'interno delle mura domestiche, le antiche tradizioni semitiche, per quanto attiene alle attività quotidiane, si saranno forse conservate nel tempo.

Antonella Spanò Giammellaro ha dimostrato in uno studio avente per oggetto la ceramica arcaica di Mozia, come proprio all'elemento femminile sia da connettere l'introduzione di una particolare forma ceramica a Mozia, Palermo e Solunto: la cosiddetta 'pignatta', a profilo cilindrico o troncoconico, realizzata a mano (*Fig. 9*), che non trova confronti nelle produzione coeve al di fuori della Sicilia (Spanò Giammellaro 2001: 190-191). La forma trova infatti origine e confronti diretti nel repertorio ceramico 'indigeno' della Sicilia centro-occidentale, ma registra attestazioni anche nella Sicilia orientale. E' dunque ipotizzabile che proprio la presenza di donne 'indigene' sia all'origine dell'introduzione a Mozia della forma vascolare, utilizzata probabilmente per cotture in umido. Seppur rara, la forma è attestata a Malta a Tas Silg (*Fig. 10*), ove la ceramica da fuoco, grazie anche al rinvenimento di numerosi frammenti iscritti prima della cottura, sarebbe strettamente da connettere alle pratiche cultuali che si svolgevano nel santuario (Quercia 2003: 407, Fig. A10).

Nuovi spunti potrebbe offrire, credo, una indagine tesa ad individuare per Malta processi e passaggi analoghi, prendendo in esame la ceramica da cucina di tradizione locale e le forme portate dai nuovi venuti, ma la mia competenza sul contesto isolano non mi consente in questa sede di formulare se non auspici per una ricerca futura.

E' da segnalare per Malta l'edizione dei rinvenimenti monetali occorsi durante le campagne di scavo condotte a Tas Silg, che aggiunge un nuovo capitolo alla complessa problematica delle emissioni di Malta e Gozo, per le quali forse è da rialzare la cronologia: si è evidenziata una cospicua presenza di monete di zecca punica di Sicilia insieme a esemplari di zecche siceliote, ma lascio ai colleghi

numismatici l'analisi dettagliata dei dati presentati (Perassi 2002; Perassi & Novarese 2006).

Un capitolo importante riguarda le stele: alla grande fioritura delle stele moziesi, corrisponde l'assenza totale di dati da Solunto, dove solo il ritrovamento di un cippo trono decontestualizzato farebbe ipotizzare l'esistenza di un *tophet* (Greco 2005), nonché da Palermo (De Simone 1997). Lilibeo accoglierà pienamente i dettati delle produzioni cartaginesi di IV sec.

Nel rimandare ad altra sede l'analisi delle testimonianze epigrafiche, mi sento di affermare che una comparazione tra fenicio di Sicilia e fenicio di Malta risulta a mio parere inappropriata, ove si esuli dalle mere operazioni di individuazione di caratteri distintivi fonetici o morfologici, tesi alla ricerca, certamente importante, di eventuali collegamenti con la madrepatria (Amadasi Guzzo 2003). Tale perentoria affermazione trova fondamento nella grande complessità linguistica che emerge dall'esame del ricco patrimonio epigrafico di Sicilia, soltanto in parte riconducibile alle singole componenti etniche. Voglio soltanto richiamare l'attenzione su tre iscrizioni di Sicilia che a mio parere non necessitano di ulteriori commenti: una iscrizione greca di età arcaica da Birgi, che parrebbe costituire l'avamposto di Mozia in terraferma (Gabrici 1917), un *ostracon* con alfabeto greco da Mozia (Falsone & Calascibetta 1991), un abecedario punico malamente redatto da Selinunte (De Simone c.d.s.), da collocare quest'ultimo nel periodo in cui la città venne in possesso dei Cartaginesi dopo il 409 a.C. Lo studio dei processi di alfabetizzazione, nel senso del passaggio da un alfabeto all'altro, potrebbe certamente apportare nuovi dati: il fenicio di Sicilia, proprio per l'ingombrante presenza dell'elemento greco, va collocato in una posizione isolata rispetto alle diverse aree linguistiche riconosciute in diverse regioni del Mediterraneo punico d'Occidente. Quanto a Malta, sarebbe a mio parere importante indagare il ruolo assunto nei secoli dalla scrittura fenicia nelle relazioni con le comunità locali: può forse essere richiamato, in tale contesto, il concetto della 'creazione della differenza' che una recente letteratura ha tenuto ad introdurre nell'ambito delle indagini su contatti e scambi interculturali (Haider 2006).

Voglio solo accennare alla nota stele che ha portato all'ipotesi dell'esistenza di un *tophet* a Malta.

Il termine *mlkbcl* delle stele *CIS* I 123 e 123 bis non lascia dubbi sull'esistenza del culto del *molk* nell'isola, ben noto ormai da tempo a Mozia. Come spiegare dunque, l'assenza a Malta di una produzione scultorea simile a quelle che hanno portato alla improvvisa produzione delle stele di Mozia, Cartagine e Sardegna?

Sappiamo che in alcuni centri le testimonianze archeologiche palesemente attestano l'esistenza di un *tophet*, per altri abbiamo soltanto degli indizi. Poiché però l'apposizione delle urne risulta secondaria per il rito, come mostrano chiaramente i rinvenimenti contenuti nei livelli più antichi del *tophet* di Cartagine e di Mozia, non è detto che ovunque alle usanze tradizionali abbia fatto seguito necessariamente l'adozione come costume rituale dell'adozione della stele. Claudia Sagona sottolinea come le tombe maltesi abbiano restituito raramente resti di infanti, dato peraltro attestato anche in altre regioni dell'Occidente punico. Mi chiedo però, quanto ciò sia effettivamente verificabile, considerato lo stato della documentazione oggi disponibile, soprattutto in relazione a precisi contesti di scavo, e ancor più se riferiti alle indagini archeologiche più antiche.

Certamente risulta anomalo il fatto che proprio a Malta, nel cuore del Mediterraneo occidentale punico non vi siano attestazioni, esclusi ovviamente i dati epigrafici sopra menzionati. Forse quegli impulsi del VI sec. sopra ipotizzati, che arrivano dall'Oriente, se per alcuni aspetti sfiorano l'isola, per altri sembrano ignorarla. Ma allora, come spiegare l'analoga situazione della Penisola Iberica? Non ho una risposta a tale quesito, ma, per concludere qui la trattazione di un tema che ci porterebbe molto lontano, non credo che il mancato rinvenimento di stele ci autorizzi ad escludere l'assenza del rituale.

Tra le nuove prospettive di ricerca, nuova luce potrebbe venire da indagini storico-archeologiche ad ampio raggio: indagare se e come i traumatici avvenimenti che videro lo scontro tra Greci e Punici in Sicilia (il VI secolo, l'avvento di Cartagine in Sicilia, il 480 a.C., la sconfitta di Himera, e più tardi, l'eparchia cartaginese) abbiano avuto ripercussioni sulle comunità maltesi; ma per tutto questo risulta fondamentale, in Sicilia come a Malta, una corretta lettura dei dati disponibili e, soprattutto, la tanto auspicata edizione dei materiali, provenienti dai vecchi e nuovi scavi.

Al termine di questa rapida rassegna, costituita essenzialmente da incalzanti quesiti emersi dall'esame di seppur limitate classi di materiali, emerge, mi pare, in assenza di soluzioni 'definitive', impossibili allo stato attuale, la necessità per la disciplina di dotarsi di una metodologia della ricerca da applicare non soltanto alle aree qui indagate ma che investa l'intero complesso degli studi fenici e punici; un approccio, cioè, in grado di fuoriuscire anche dai confini 'geografici' e 'culturali' fissati da rigidi schematismi, e inquadri le dinamiche insediamentali e lo sviluppo storico-topografico dei singoli centri in un panorama molto più vasto, in un mare che, non sempre è inopportuno ricordarlo, difficilmente può avere avuto confini interni, fenici, punici, greci o 'altri'.

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Indice delle illustrazioni

Christian Medicine and Late Antique Surgery: Illness and Healing in the Maltese Islands and Sicily in 4th-5th Century A.D.

MARGHERITA CASSIA

A small marble tablet (15.5 × 16.5 cm; thickness: 2.3 cm) held at Malta’s National Archaeological Museum bears the following epitaph[1]: **enqade kite Dome-** |**stiko~ o eum**[**en**]**h~** (?)[2] | **cristiano~· k(ai) ihtro~æ** | **ezhsen eth o~V** | ἀνεπα<ύ>ατο th [**pr(o)**] **ihV** | **kal**[**an**]**d(wn) Febr(ouariwn)** | Ŏ Ŏ. “Here lies Domestikos, a good Christian and doctor; he lived for 76 years and found eternal peace on the 18th day before the Kalends of February”.

1 *CIG* 4, 9451=*IG* 14, 604=BECKER 1913, 134, no. 8=LECLERCQ 1931, 1340-1=GUMMERUS 1932, 62-3, no. 227=LECLERCQ 1933, 166=WESSEL 1989, no. 144=BUHAGIAR 1993, 196-7, no. 21=SAMAMA 2003, 552-3, no. 520=*CIM* 2003-4, 185-6, no. 12 (Gozo); see also MAYR 1909, 111, note 2; CASSAR 1964, 11; BROWN 1975, 78, note 68; BONANNO 2005, 267. Many thanks to professor Anthony Bonanno and Sharon Sultana (Principal Curator, National Museum of Archaeology) who provided the photograph.

2 BECKER 1913, 135 preferred **eulabh~** – to **eusebh~** (WESSEL 1989) and **eumaqh~** (Kaibel in *CIG*) – and he theorised on links between this term and a Judaeo-Christian environment.

The epigraph, which was probably discovered originally at Gozo, was dated by GUMMERUS 1932 as 4th or 5th century (A.D.), by BUHAGIAR 1993 as 6th century and by SAMAMA 2003 as 3rd or 4th century. It provides a starting point for a study of cultural and religious contact between the Maltese islands, Rome and other areas of the Empire such as Sicily and Africa.

The only onomastic element, *Domesticus*, occurs also in the epigraph (whose date is uncertain[3]) on a tomb in Sicily, and in 4th and 5th century Rome, above all in Christian cemeteries[4]; KAJANTO 1982 included this element, based on its occurrences recorded in *CIL*, in the *cognomina* whose etymology can be traced back to their servile origins[5].

However when considering tradesmen in Roman Sicily, as BIVONA 1984 highlighted, onomastics provide only partly reliable information given that (with the exception of *tria nomina* used by free men who were Roman citizens), typically Latin *cognomen* referred to at least second-generation citizens while typically Greek *cognomen* referred either to *liberti* who had not openly rejected their condition or to free Greeks who had received citizenship. Added to this difficulty is the fact that «nulla possiamo dire … sulla condizione di coloro che sono menzionati in iscrizioni tarde, perché, essendo invalso l'uso di designare l'individuo con un unico nome, la condizione servile non appare, a meno che non sia esplicitamente dichiarata», although the deceased's profession often appears, especially in Christian epitaphs[6].

The **cristiano~** attribute has been found in epigraphs from Syria, Asia Minor, Palestine, Athens, Eraclea-Perinto[7], as well as Syracuse and Rome (in the Late

3 The inscription, originating from an unspecified location in Sicily mentions *Quintus Herrius Domesticus: Q*(*uintus*) *Herri*[*us*] | *Domestic*[*us*] | *v*(*ixit*) *a*(*nnis*) XXX [- - -] | *h*(*ic*) *s*(*itus*) *M*(---) *F*(---) *F*(---) *C*(---); | *Philetio Rhos*[*i*]|*niae Grat*(*ae*) *ser*(*vus*), *vix*(*it*) | [*a*]*n*(*nis*) *XIII*, *h*(*ic*) *s*(*itus*), *Primi*|[*tiva*] *coniugi et fr*|[*atri*] *bene meren*(*tibus*): TE RIELE 1977, 116-8 and fig. 5=SOLIN 1993, 233-4=*AÉ* 1993, 827.

4 *ICUR* 1, 3429: *Domestico benemerenti*; 3430: *Domestico benemerenti qui ann*(*os*) *vix*(*it*) *XXV diaes X* | *fecit coiux in pace*; 5, 14190: *dep*(*ositio*) *Domestici* | *VIIII kal*(*endas*) *octob*(*res*) (IV A.D.); 9, 24676: *L*(*ucius*) *Domitius Domesticus* |*L*(*ucio*) *Domitio Quintilliano* | *filio suo benemerenti* | *fecit* (III A.D.); 9, 25571: *Valeriae Domesticae* | *que vixit ann*(*os*) | *II m*(*enses*) *V d*(*ies*) *XIX* | [*p*]*ater b*(*ene*)*m*(*erenti*) *f*(*ecit*) (III A.D.); *ILCV* 2, 3792: *Domesti*|*cus posi*|*tus ad do.*| *Ioan.*; *dat. sol.* |- - - - - | *tres et semis* | *pro memorium*; a **Domestiko~** is found in MORETTI 1979, no. 1330; a metric epigraph that can be dated in the late 4th Century A.D. memorialises [**d**]**omestiko~ Filippo~**: *ICUR* 2, 4441, 1.

5 KAJANTO 1982, 82; compare 134; 314. Il *cognomen* is also in Cic. *ad Q. fr.* 3, 8, 5 (Rome, end Nov.- beg. Dec. 54 B.C.): *Serrani Domestici filii funus perluctuosum fuit a. d. VIII Kal. Decembr.: laudavit pater scripto meo*.

6 BIVONA 1984, 30-1, with specific reference to the doctor named *Laurentius* documented in Syracuse (see *infra* note 16 no. 16); compare also BRUGNONE 1984, 44; 49-50.

7 GUARDUCCI 1978, 431-4.

Antique period)[8].

Interestingly, this adjective/noun is associated with **ihtro~/iatro~**: in the *corpus* of SAMAMA 2003 the two terms occur together in only one other inscription, an epitaph for the pneumatic doctor **≠Alexandro~** found in Rome and dated 4th/5th century A.D. (**enqade keitai ≠Ale**[x]**an-|dro~, iatro~ cristiano~** | **kai pneumatiko~**)[9].

Furthermore, the Gozo inscription has particular semantic value due not to the writing but to the images used and the meaning they convey: the lower section of the epigraph contains stylised images of two surgical instruments, perhaps a set of pincers (**stafulagrai**): [10]. This in fact is the way that they were transcribed in *CIG* (=*IG*), whose epigraphic text is based on catalogues from 1784 (CASTELLI, *classis XVII*, no. XXIV) and 1772 (CIANTAR, vol. 2, 530); the interpretation of the symbols as surgical implements was reaffirmed by BECKER 1913, 137 («der Schluß unseres Epitaphs bilden zwei chirurgische Instrumente»), GUMMERUS 1932, 63 («unter der Inschrift zwei chirurgische Instrumente»), WESSEL 1989, 38 («duo forcipes medici») and SAMAMA 2003, 552 note 83 («sous l'inscription sont représentés deux instruments chirurgicaux [des pinces?]»).

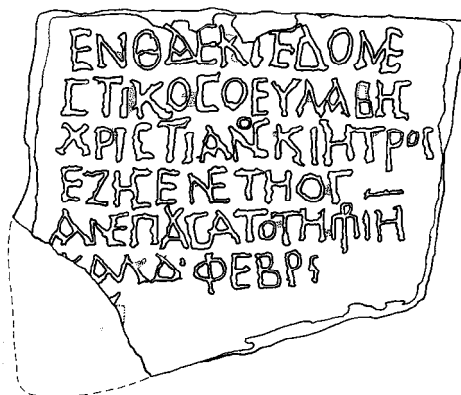
The two signs on l. 7 are also present in a BUHAGIAR's transcription (1993, 196-7, no. 21), corrected almost fifteen years ago. He limits himself to reporting without any comment the interpretation cautiously offered by J. Reynolds («the sigla are not easy to understand … they look to me like the pi to hypsilon in each case … **up**(**atia**) in the consulship; but if that is what is meant here it ought to appear once only and to be followed by the names of the consuls in office»). In other words, the two signs would be the Greek letters **u** and **p** respectively, initials of the term **upatia** or "consulate" understood as a dating method:

Ενθά[δ]ε κῖτε Δομε
στικὸς ὁ εὐμέ[ν]ης
χριστιανὸς κ[έ] ἰητρός
Ἔζησεν ἔτη ογ
ἀνεπαύσατο τῇ [πρὸ] ιή
κα λ[αν]δ[ῶν] φεβρ[υαρίων]

8 Syracuse: *IG* 14, 78; 123; 154; 191; 196. Rome: *ICUR* 2, 4432 (late 3rd century).

9 *CIG* 9792=GUMMERUS 1932, 47, no. 161=SAMAMA 2003, 531, no. 489.

10 On the instruments likely portrayed in the Domestikos' inscription compare KÜNZL 1996, 2450 and note 50; CRUSE 2004, 156-9 (pincers used for uvula removal and/or the cauterisation of haemorrhoids).

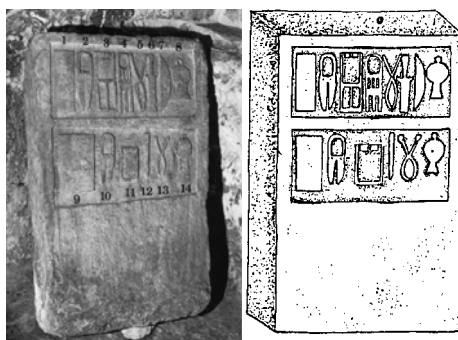
More recently, Elena Alin Pirino (=*CIM* 2003-4, tabb. XXIII-XXIIIA) studied the inscription, albeit without the aim of dating it or making specific reference to the two signs. Pirino, after completing the formidable task of cataloguing the epigraphs on the material held in the Museums of Gozo and Malta, photographed the inscription and provided the following image which clearly shows it to correspond to l. 7 (aside from some slight differences, above all the crack in the tablet, which probably occurred recently, on the lower left side):

Given that most scholars (with the exception of Reynolds' uncertain opinion) have interpreted the signs as stylised surgical instruments, it would be fair to theorise that Domestikos was in fact a surgeon. This representation of surgical tools on an inscription is not, however, unique given that a few other similar representations have been documented in other areas of the Empire, dating from the 2nd-4th centuries A.D.[11]. However, the inscriptions referred to above all related to pagan doctors, while Domestikos' epitaph is unique in that the doctor was both a surgeon and **eumenh~ cristiano~**.

11 In these cases the images are especially accurate, and are often of more types of *instrumenta chirurgica*; Preneste: GUMMERUS 1932, 50-1, no. 177 (=*CIL* 14, 3030=*ILS* 7788), 2nd Century A.D.; *Portus Traiani*: GUMMERUS 1932, 52, no. 184 (=*IG* 14, 943), end 3rd-beg. 4th Century A.D.; Ostia: GUMMERUS 1932, 53-4, no. 186 (=THYLANDER 1952, 222), 2nd Century A.D.; *Setia*: GUMMERUS 1932, 62, no. 221 (=*CIL* 10, 6469), 1st-2nd Century A.D.; Gubbio: GUMMERUS 1932, 67-8, no. 250 (=*CIL* 11, 5836=*ILS* 7794), 1st-2nd Century A.D.; Ravenna: GUMMERUS 1932, 70-1, no. 259 (=*ILS* 9442=VIDMAN 1969, 586), 3rd/4th Centuries A.D.; territory of *Leuci* (*Belgica*): GUMMERUS 1932, 91, no. 359 (=*CIL* 13, 4668), 3rd Century A.D.?; *Siscia*: GUMMERUS 1932, 100, no. 392 (=*CIL* 3, 10854=*ILS* 2601=HOFFILLER-SARIA 1938, 567), 1st/2nd Century A.D.?; *Burnum*: GUMMERUS 1932, 102-3, no. 399 (=*AÉ* 1903, 376=*ILJug* 3, 2814), 1st Century A.D.; Aizanoi: *MAMA* 9, 115, pl. XV (=SAMAMA 2003, 400-1, no. 293), 2nd Century A.D.; Tarpak/Sögüt: ŞAHIN 1982, p. 95a-b, 97a, no. 1326, p. 13 (=CREMER 1992, p. 154, pl. 19 and pp. 76-9=SAMAMA 2003, 418-9, no. 316), 230-240 A.D. In general see KÜNZL 1996, 2445-6.

Based on these points on the epigraphic text, we can draw the following inferences.

Domestiko~'s epigraph – written in Greek but referring to a Roman, as inferred from the anthroponym – refers in Late Antiquity to a culturally bilingual context on the island and shows familiarity with the Empire's communication channels while also being in line with models of epigraphic self-representation used by doctors in other parts of the Empire.

A further area for consideration arises when comparing deductions from the Gozo epigraph with other evidence from Maltese archaeology.

In fact, a tombstone (110 × 70 cm; thickness: 20 cm) found in a tomb with two burial recesses located under Rabat Boy's Secondary School (which is near but not adjacent to St Paul's catacombs) bears in relief images of 14 objects which (although they cannot be identified with complete certainty) are surely surgeon's instruments: 1. a whetstone/tablet for mixing ointments, 2. a pair of tongs/surgical scissors (*forfex*), 3. a medicine case, 4. a vaginal *speculum*, 5. a pair of tongs/pincers/forceps, 6. a scalpel for bone cutting/cauterisation/amputation, 7. a blood letting bowl for phlebotomy/bowl for mixing powders and ointments/razor, 8. a sucker (*cucurbitula*), 9. another whetstone, 10. a pair of tongs/surgical scissors, 11. a portable box for ointments, 12. a case/holder for sounds, spatulas, hooks and forceps, 13. a pair of tongs/pincers, 14. another sucker[12].

12 See BUHAGIAR 1993, 148, fig. 9a for restitution of the images; compare LEWIS 1977, 151-4; KÜNZL 1996, 2574. The Egyptologist MEZA 2003, 102-3 and fig. 2 (and pl. 5, 2) recently studied this slab. MEZA's focus was on cultural contacts and therefore did not date the inscription. MEZA'S comments centred on the marked (in her view) similarities («almost identical») between it and another famous inscription (whose interpretation is controversial), present on a wall of Kom Ombo's Egyptian temple which portrays Emperor Trajan kneeling before two female deities, a god and a table covered with surgical instruments, among which various types of pincers, spatulas, scalpels for amputation are carved into horizontal registers.

The similarity between the implements numbered 5 and 13 on the Maltese slab and the symbols on the transcription (BUHAGIAR 1993) of the Domestikos' epigraph is unmistakeable.

This similarity provides elements that allow us to establish the Gozo epitaph's chronology. CASSAR 1974 hypothesised that this slab, which is of great importance to the study of the history of medicine in the Roman Empire as it provides an 'inventory' of surgical instruments in use at the time, memorialises at least two surgeons, possibly members either of the same family (buried in the Late Antique period) or of a doctors' guild, all of whom were buried in the same catacomb, like other similar representations of tools of other trades (e.g. carpenters, plumbers and farmers) found in other hypogea on the island dated 4th/5th century A.D. or later[13]. If this last assertion is correct, then the slab could be added to the scanty evidences about *collegia medicorum* which document, according to ANDRÉ 1987, at least in the first three centuries of the Empire, the private and convivial nature of these associations, whose members met in special meeting places called *scholae*, i.e. halls for meetings and shared meals[14].

This last aspect fits in with the widespread use of family or group hypogea in Malta which are noted for their round *agape* tables for the shared meals that would take place during funeral ceremonies.

If the Maltese slab can be connected with the existence of professional associations (whose members financed the construction of communal tombs in which the tools of their trade would be displayed), then the stylised images of surgical instruments shown in the Gozo inscription for Domestikos seem to present a different picture. The epitaph for the latter entrusts its message to the communicative channel offered by the linguistic medium and is the result of an individual choice while the relief relies only on its visual impact and is an expression of community, either within a family or among colleagues.

The declarations of doctors working on the Maltese archipelago during the Late Antique age should be compared with similar testimony from nearby Sicily, with which the archipelago had close links (though these also alternated with Af-

13 CASSAR 1974, 89-93 and fig. 1; BUHAGIAR 1993, 174-78, fig. 22a-c; compare BONANNO 2005, 256-7. The strength of this medical tradition is evidenced by the widespread worship and imagery of Saints Cosmas and Damian on the Maltese archipelago: CASSAR 1972, 25-49.

14 Compare BOZZONI 1904, 177-82; BELOW 1953, 30-1; CRACCO RUGGINI 1971, 59-193; CLEMENTE 1972, 152, no. 21; 207, no. 21; 208; 218, no. 35; CARRIÉ 2002, 309-32; on the *collegia medicorum* in particular ANDRÉ 1987, 117-8; SAMAMA 2003, 68-70; TRAN 2006, 123-4; 249-51. In general, for legal aspects of the *collegia*, see CAFISSI 1983, 89-111; RANDAZZO 1998, 229-44; AUBERT 1999, 49-69. At the end of the 4th Century Symmachus (*rel*. 27, 2-4=*epist*. 10, 40, *MGH.AA.* VI, 1, ed. O. Seeck, Berolini 1883, 301) designates as *collegium omne medicorum* the 14 salaried Roman *archiatri* employed by the city to care for its inhabitants; compare also BOZZONI 1904, 114; 180; ANDRÉ 1987, 118.

rica) on administrative and ecclesiastical levels. On the other hand, perhaps coincidentally, SCRAMUZZA 1937, 360, asserted that the Domestikos' epigraph was part of a (limited at the time) series of inscriptions relating to doctors in Sicily; in a similar manner FERRUA 1946-7, 233, no. 24, included Domestikos in a short list of Sicilian doctors[15]. From the fairly consistent documentation on doctors in Roman Sicily[16], certain facts emerge.

15 MANGANARO 1994, 107, who while not mentioning our doctor, refers to 9 doctors from Roman Sicily; also BITTO 2001, 50.

16 **1.** *Apuleius Celsus* (Centuripe, 2nd Century B.C., teacher of *Vettius Valens* and *Scribonius Largus*: VON RHODEN 1895, 259; NUTTON 2004, 172. **2. Nikwn** (Agrigento, 1st Century B.C., free *peregrinus*, student of Asclepiades of Bithynia and teacher of *S. Fadius*): DILLER 1936, 506-7; KUDLIEN 1986, 18; 75 (who asserts that the doctor is not necessarily of Sicilian origin, but had stayed on the island for a fairly long time). **3.** *Philonis* (Catania, late 1st Century B.C., free *peregrinus*, teacher of *Paccius Antiochus*): BERNERT 1941, 73-4; KUDLIEN 1986, 64; 75-6 (who asserts that the doctor is not necessarily of Sicilian origin, but had stayed on the island for a fairly long time). **4.** *Titus Aufidius* (Sicilia?, late 1st Century B.C., *ingenuus*, member of the *gens Aufidia*, student of Asclepiades of Bithynia, who writes in Greek): WELLMANN 1896, 2290; KUDLIEN 1986, 16-7; 26; 76. **5.** *Scribonius Largus* (Sicilia?, early 1st Century A.D.): NUTTON 1993, 62 («… who came from a bilingual area of S. Italy or Sicily»); SCONOCCHIA 1998, 180 («probabilmente originario della Sicilia»). **6. #Iatroi** (?) (Segesta, 1st-2nd Centuries A.D.): NENCI 1995, 1183, no. 3 («iscrizione onoraria di un medico o legata ad una corporazione di medici»), tab. 267, fig. 3=*SEG* 45, 1995, 1394=SAMAMA 2003, 552, no. 519. **7.** *Caius Terentius Symphorus*, *medicus chir*(*urgus*) *coh*(*ortis*) IIII *praet*(*oriae*) (Messina, 2nd Century A.D.): ORSI 1916, coll. 162-3=FERRUA 1941, no. 13=*AÉ* 1945, 62=ROWLAND no. 416=MANGANARO 1996, 80, tab. XV, no. 39-42; compare KRUG 1990, 219; BITTO 2001, 47-50. **8. Frontwn** (Catania, 2nd-late 3rd Century A.D.): *CIG* 3, 5702=*IG* 14, 1529 (Kaibel **eiathr**)=*IGRR* 1, 239=GUMMERUS 1932, 42, no. 143=*IGUR* 1187, fig. 49=SAMAMA 2003, 549, no. 513; KORPELA 1987, 202, no. 263; MANGANARO 1994, 95 (**eiathr**); *contra* KORHONEN 2003, 291, no. 243, l. 5 (**pathr**). **9. Montano~** (Acate, 2nd-3rd Century A.D.?): MANGANARO 1994, 105-7, no. XIX and fig. 25=*BÉ* 1995, 689=MANGANARO 1996, 80=*SEG* 44, 1994, 779=SAMAMA 2003, 548, no. 512. **10. Eudaimwn** (?) (Syracuse, late 3rd to early 4th Century A.D.): GUARDUCCI 1940, 225-6, who thought this to be a funeral epigram for a doctor (GUARDUCCI's interpretation which is included in *BÉ* 1950, 241a and repeated in *BÉ* 1967, 707); *versus* MANGANARO 1965, 208-10; the new theory offered by MANGANARO 1988, 63, note 322; *SEG* 38, 1988, no. 966; compare also MANGANARO 1994, 99-100, no. XIV and fig. 19. **11. Basso~** (Catania, 4th-5th Century A.D.): ORSI 1918, 63 no. 7=*BÉ* 1920, p. 432=WESSEL 1989, no. 140=RIZZO 1989, 64 no. 25=SAMAMA 2003, 549-50, no. 514=KORHONEN 2003, 250, no. 171; compare BRUGNONE 1984, 49. **12. Fhlix** (Syracuse, 4th-5th Century A.D.): ORSI 1895, 486, no. 165=AGNELLO 1953, 23, no. 21=SAMAMA 2003, 550, no. 515; compare BRUGNONE 1984, 50. **13. Ber**[**o~**?]/**Ber**[**naklo~**?] (Syracuse, 4th-5th Century A.D.): FERRUA 1946-7, 233, no. 24=SAMAMA 2003, 550-1, no. 516; compare BRUGNONE 1984, 50. **14. Qasio~** (Syracuse, 4th-5th Century A.D.): WESSEL 1989, no. 141=SAMAMA 2003, 551, no. 517; compare BRUGNONE 1984, 50. **15. Eudemwn** (Chiaramonte Gulfi, 4th-5th Century A.D. according to SAMAMA, late 5th-8th Century A.D. according to DI VITA): CALDERINI-FERRUA-DE GRASSI 1940, 248, no. 1105=DI VITA 1950, 99-100, no. 1=AGNELLO 1953, 38-9, no. 68=SAMAMA 2003, 551-2, no. 518; compare MANGANARO 1988, 64 (on the doctor's possible Egyptian origins); BRUGNONE 1984, 44; 49 (the doctor would have trained at the prestigious Alexandria school). **16.** *Laurentius* (Syracuse, 5th/6th Century A.D.): *AÉ*

Firstly, there was clearly a good number of doctors during the Imperial Age (12), compared to 4 who can be ascribed to the 1st century B.C.; there was also a considerable presence of anthroponyms in Greek (10), above all in the Imperial Age; also, the doctors' geographical denominations are interesting, as these are almost always cities, with two exceptions, both of which refer to extra-urban contexts in the Ragusa area, although one relates to the 2nd/3rd century A.D. (Acate) and the other to the 4th/5th century A.D. (Chiaramonte Gulfi); in addition, except for Segesta's epigraphic and Akragas' literary evidence, sources reveal a significant presence of doctors in Central-Eastern Sicily (Centuripe, Acate, Chiaramonte Gulfi) and above all Western Sicily; here compared to only one present in Messina, they were predominantly in Catania (3) and Syracuse (5), one always being present between the 1st century B.C. and the 5th century A.D., while the other is more often documented from the 3rd to the 6th centuries A.D. (see map).

Finally, the case of **Basso~** (Catania, IV-V A.D.) who died at 50 years of age, seems particularly significant (it may even legitimise, as SCRAMUZZA 1937 and FERRUA 1946-7 asserted, the inclusion of Domestikos in the 'series' of Sicilian doctors), in whose inscription the adjective **cristiano~ (**which together with **iatro~**, appears only, as has been seen, in the contemporary Roman epigraph of

1945, 62=BERNABÒ BREA 1947, 188, fig. 13c; 189=*AÉ* 1951, 176=ROWLAND 1977, no. 419; compare BIVONA 1984, 30-1.

ʼAlexandro~) is simply substituted with the monogram: **enqade keite** | **Basso~ iatro~,** | **ezhsen eth** | **n/ ☧** | [- - - - -] | **eteleuthsen** | **th pro ie/ ka**(**landwn**) **Mar**(**tiwn**). “Here lies Bassos, doctor, he lived 50 years, Christian, he concluded his earthly existence on the 15th day before the Kalends of March”. The undeniable similarity between the Catanian epigraph and the Roman one with the Gozo inscription for **Domestiko~** (a Greek transliteration of a Latin onomastic element) offers confirmation of the inclusion of the Maltese islands in a Mediterranean cultural circuit as well as indicating a 4th/5th century date for the epitaph.

This chronology is, in effect, also supported by the testimony of certain Christian writers on surgical practices, which were sometimes viewed with fear and suspicion because their methods obviously seemed more ‘invasive’ than medicinal or hydrotherapeutic treatments. However, it is also true that while in Tertullian’s time doctors were viewed as senseless butchers[17], authors like Clement of Alexandria, Prudentius, Jerome and Augustine instead adopted a decisively ‘conciliatory’ approach to surgeons.

The image of the *ferrum* (the surgical instrument) which was used with fire (not to cause pointless suffering but to restore health) appears in one of Clement’s passages in which he compares the ‘typical’ image of the *Christus medicans* who carry out conversions to their ‘new’ image as surgeons who cure illnesses: in fact Jesus is “like a good doctor who cures sick bodies, using poultices for some, massages for others, washing some and opening others with an iron (**ta de sidhrw diairwn**), burning others (**epikaiwn de alla**), amputating some (**kai apopriwn**), in the hope of restoring a man’s health, even at the cost of some part or member (**ei pw~ oi|on te kan para mero~ h melo~ ton anqrwpon ugianai**)”[18].

Thus Prudentius and Jerome felt the need to almost defend these surgeons, reflecting that they performed a thankless task (though always with good intentions). Thus, in his *Peristephanon*, Prudentius writes *putate ferrum triste chirurgos meis / inferre costis, quod secat salubriter. / Non est amarum quo reformatur salus*[19], while Jerome writes in one of his letters: “the doctors called surgeons are

17 Tert. *anim.* 10, 4, p. 13 Waszink: *Herophilus ille medicus aut lanius*; on this passage compare also ROMANO 1991, 71 and note 24. In general, on compatibility and tensions between the Christian faith and the medical profession during the first centuries of Christianity see the accounts related by HARNACK 1892, 37-50; more recently by FERNGREN-AMUNDSEN 1995, 2962-5.

18 Clem. *prot.* 1, 8, 2. On the strong connection between this passage from Clement and one from *Firmicus Maternus*’s *de errore profanarum religionum* (16, 5, p. 113 Turcan) see HEUTEN 1938, 174; in fact even in *Mathesis* the *ignis* and *ferrum* are linked to the idea of surgery (4, 10, 3, vol. 2, p. 145; 7, 26, 10, vol. 3, p. 231 Monat); compare also TURCAN 1982, 281. The references to the iron and fire, i.e. to the two actions of “cutting” and “burning”, can be linked to two fundamental procedures in Hippocratic surgery where incision and cauterisation were generally recommended after trying other therapies: DE FILIPPIS CAPPAI 1993, 53.

19 Prud. *perist.* 10, 501-3.

considered to be cruel but are in fact just unfortunate (*medici, quos vocant chirurgicos, crudeles putantur et miseri sunt*). Is it not unfortunate to suffer due to the wounds of others, to cut dead flesh with a harmless iron (*clementi … ferro*), that he who cures is not horrified by that which horrifies his patient and is therefore considered an enemy?”[20].

While Jerome’s view recognises surgery’s therapeutic benefits, Augustine highlights the surgeon’s dexterity: “I often hear it said that well-educated doctors are surpassed by lesser educated ones in amputations and incisions of various types, as these require the use of the hands and irons (*manu ac ferro*). This area of medicine they call surgery, the term referring to the practice of medicine using the hands (*quod genus curandi chirurgiam nominant, quo vocabulo satis significatur operaria quaedam in manibus medendi consuetudo*)”[21].

On the other hand, we should not overlook 5th century medical writers in Africa such as Caelius Aurelianus (writer of *Sicca Veneria)* and Cassius Felix (writer of *Cirta*). This regional medical tradition is also confirmed by the abundant Greek and Latin epigraphic documentation dated between the 1st century B.C. and the Late Imperial age[22].

In conclusion, the Domestikos’ epigraph gives evidence of the pending abandonment of Tertullian’s views, reflecting it its place Clementine thinking and the ‘liberalisation’ of the surgeon’s trade in 4th/5th century Christian thinking. The inscription takes the symbols of the surgeon’s trade from classical and pagan tradition and re-interprets their use in line with a new religious ‘spirit’. Thus Domestikos the Christian displays his profession to all, benefiting from surgery’s ‘rehabilitation’ (a process started by the Christians) and with his instruments, makes the

20 Hier. *ep*. 40, 1. On allusions to medicine and surgery in Jerome see PEASE 1914, 73-86.

21 Aug. *mus*. 1, 4, 9; in Augustine’s writings, the doctor’s work and spirit of self-sacrifice, humanity, altruism were compared to Christ’s: KEENAN 1936, 168-90; MAZZINI 1982-4, 88-9; MARIN 2000, 375-88. On Augustine’s position on surgery see ANDRÉ 1987, 65-7 (also with reference to definitions of the purpose of surgery in Isid. *orig*. 4, 9, 2-3: *curatio autem morborum tribus generibus constat: Pharmacia, quam Latini medicamina vocant: Chirurgia, quam Latini manuum operationem appellant; manus enim apud Graecos* **ceir** *vocatur: Diaeta, quam Latini regulam nuncupant; est enim observatio legis et vitae. Sunt autem omni curationi species tres: primum genus diaeticum, secundum pharmaceuticum, tertium chirurgicum. Diaeta est observatio legis et vitae. Pharmacia est medicamentorum curatio. Chirurgia ferramentorum incisio; nam ferro exciduntur quae medicamentorum non senserint medicinam*; this three-way division of medicine is already codified in Cels. *prooem.* 9: *iisdemque temporibus in tres partes medicina diducta est, ut una esset quae victu, altera quae medicamentis, tertia quae manu mederetur. Primam* **diaithtikhn** *secundam* **farmakeutikhn**, *tertiam* **ceirourgian** *Graeci nominarunt*; compare ROMANO 1991, 121-2).

22 On African writers compare in general NUTTON 2004, 299. For epigraphic documentation, see GUMMERUS 1932, 78-83, no. 293-320; ROWLAND 1977, no. 405-6; SAMAMA 2003, 505-9, no. 454-9; further indications can be referred to on the telemathic database: *Epigraphische Datenbank Heidelberg=EDH* and *Epigraphik-Datenbank Clauss/Tablety=EDCS.*

abstract, supernatural power of *Christus medicans* tangible and concrete.

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Le isole minori della Sicilia in età bizantina

FERDINANDO MAURICI

Partiamo da due considerazioni iniziali: 1) le isole minori della Sicilia sono quasi tutte abitate o almeno frequentate in età romana; 2) almeno da età normanna e fino alla metà del XVI secolo sono invece abitate solo le più importanti: Malta e Lipari (forse con Vulcano, Salina e Stromboli), Gozo e Pantelleria. Per le altre occorrerà attendere perché si verifichino le condizioni per una nuova colonizzazione: Favignana sarà la prima, già alla fine del XVI-inizi del XVII secolo; Lampedusa e Linosa, popolate solo dalla metà del XIX secolo, saranno le ultime.

La prima affermazione non ha bisogno di particolari commenti. Le fonti antiche e soprattutto la letteratura archeologica mostrano con chiarezza come la presenza umana nei secoli della *pax* romano-mediterranea, per non parlare di epoche precedenti, si sia estesa perfino a isolotti di piccolissima superficie e minima importanza come Basiluzzo, Isola delle Femmine, Lisca Bianca e Lisca Nera[1].

1 Senza alcuna pretesa di completezza si segnalano: BEJOR G., Gli insediamenti della Sicilia romana, in A. Giardina (ed.) *Società romana e impero tardoantico,* III, *Le Merci. Gli insediamenti*, Bari, Laterza 1986: 515-519; CAVALIER M., Alicudi, in G. Nenci e G. Vallet (eds.), *Biblioteca topografica della colonizzazione greca in Italia e nelle isole tirreniche,* III, Pisa-Roma 1984: 171-173; CAVALIER M., Basiluzzo, ivi, IV, 1985: 14-17; CAVALIER M., Favignana, ivi, VII, 1989: 418-426; BERNABÒ BREA L., CAVALIER M., Filicudi, ivi, VII: 457-463; CORRETTI A., Levanzo, ivi, IX, 1991: 7-15; BERNABÒ BREA L., M. Cavalier, Lipari, ivi, IX: 81-185; CORRETTI A., Marittimo, ivi, IX: 357-359; CAVALIER M., Panarea, ivi, XIII, 1994: 321-329; CAVALIER M., Lisca Bianca, ivi, IX: 186; CAVALIER M., Lisca Nera, ivi, IX: 187; BERNABÒ BREA L., CAVALIER M., Salina, ivi, XVII, 2001: 226-234; CAVALIER M., Stromboli, ivi, XIX, 2005: 672-680.

Su Vulcano cfr. GIUSTOLISI V., *Vulcano. Introduzione alla storia e all'archeologica dell'antica Hiera*, Palermo: Centro di Documentazione e Ricerca per la Sicilia antica "P.Orsi" 1995; Id., *Atlante delle antiche strutture rupestri dell'isola di Vulcano,* 2 voll., Palermo: Centro di Documentazione e Ricerca per la Sicilia antica "P.Orsi" 1994-1997.

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Anche il secondo presupposto non necessita di approfondimento. Per il XII secolo è Idrisi, corroborato da altri autori arabi come come Ibn Giubayr e, nel XIII, Ibn Said, a delineare un quadro all'interno del quale appaiono certamente popolate solo le isole principali [2]: Malta, Gozo, Lipari e Pantelleria (*Qusirah*). Oltre queste, Idrisi ricorda Stromboli, Vulcano e Vulcanello (allora isolotto a sé stante), Salina

28; MANNINO G., Ustica due nuove tombe ipogeiche, in *Sicilia Archeologica*, 45, 1981: 55-60; MANNINO G., *Ustica*, Palermo 1997; TESTA A., *Ustica: guida archeologica*, Termini Imerese 2000; DI STEFANO C.A., Ustica nell'età ellenistico-romana, in *Lettera del Centro Studi e Documentazione Isola di Ustica*, anno II, n. 4, apr. 2000: 1-6; MANNINO G., Archeologia sulla Falconiera, in *Lettera del Centro Studi e Documentazione Isola di Ustica*, I, anno VIII, n. 21-22, gen.-apr. 2006; II, ivi, anno VIII, n. 22-23, mag.-dic. 2006: 32-40.

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Sui recenti scavi di Maretimo ARDIZZONE F., DI LIBERTO R., PEZZINI E., Il complesso monumentale in contrada "Case Romane" a Marettimo. La fase medievale: note preliminari, in Patitucci Uggeri S. (ed.), *Scavi Medievali in Italia 1994-1995*. *Atti della Prima Conferenza Italiana di Archeologia Medievale* (Cassino, 14-16 dic. 1995), Roma-Freiburg-Wien 1998: 387-424; ancora su Marittimo e su Favignana cfr. ARDIZZONE F., PEZZINI E., Prime attestazioni cristiane nell'arcipelago delle Egadi e presenze monastiche in età normanna, in *La cristianizzazione in Italia fra tardoantico e altomedioevo* cit., II:1815-1836.

Su Isola delle Femmine cfr. PURPURA G., Pesca e stabilimenti antichi per la lavorazione del pesce in Sicilia: II - Isola delle Femmine (Palermo), Punta Molinazzo (Punta Rais), Tonnara del Cofano (Trapani), San Nicola (Favignana), in *Sicilia Archeologica*, 57-58, 1985: 59-86.

Si veda inoltre, in generale, WILSON R.J.A, *Sicily under the Roman Empire. The Archaeology of a Roman Provincia, 36BC-AD535*, Warmister 1990, *passim*; Quartarone C. (ed.) *Sicilia romana e bizantina*, Palermo 2006, in part. pp. 340-347 su Lipari e Basiluzzo e p. 274-275 su Favignana; sulle Egadi, le isole dello Stagnone di Marsala e su Pantelleria cfr. inoltre MAURICI F., *La Sicilia occidentale dalla tarda antichità alla conquista islamicaca. Una storia del territorio ca. 300-827 d. C.*, Palermo 2005: 221-246.

2 AMARI M., *Biblioteca Arabo-Sicula*, 2 voll., Torino-Roma 1880-81, rist. an. Sala Bolognese 1981: I, 43-55.

(*D.nd.mah*, anticamente Διδύμη), Alicudi, Favignana (*ğazirat ar-rahib*, 'l'isola del romito'), Lampedusa, Lampione (*ğazirat al-kitab*, 'l'isola del libro'), Linosa (*Namusah*), Marittimo, Levanzo (*al-Yabisah*, 'l'Arida'), Ustica, ed ancora isolotti di pochissima estensione come l'Isola delle Femmine. L'unica fra le isole minori della Sicilia a fregiarsi di una città vera e propria è Malta con la sua Mdina. Lipari è detta ambiguamente "abitata in alcuni tempi", munita di una fortezza e dotata di acqua, legna ed un piccolo porto. Il popolamento di Pantelleria si deduce senza dubbio dal fatto che essa è descritta come fertile, dotata di un porto sicuro, di pozzi, spiagge, ulivi e capre selvatiche o meglio "già domestiche rinselvatichite": gli ulivi hanno bisogno di chi li coltivi e le capre "già domestiche" di chi le munga e le tosi. Per le altre isole nessun accenno diretto ad abitanti e, al contrario, annotazioni che sembrano alludere alla solitudine ed all'abbandono di tutte o della maggior parte di esse. Stromboli non ha alcun porto, come anche Salina. Vulcano è solo "un gran monte donde divampa … un gran fuoco" e sembrerebbe abitato unicamente da capre selvatiche. Filicudi è detta esplicitamente disabitata e priva di porto, mentre Alicudi ne ha uno angusto che può offrire rifugio alle barche. Ustica ha un ancoraggio che può ospitare galere; più grande è il porto di Lampedusa che però è priva di frutta e di animali e quindi, presumibilmente, anche di uomini che la abitassero stabilmente, a meno che non si nutrissero soltanto di pesce ... Ibn Said nel XIII secolo menziona esplicitamente Lampedusa come deserta, anche se essa offriva riparo alle navi e possibilità di rifornimento d'acqua[3]. Lampione è definita "molto graziosa" da Idrisi che però non aggiunge altro, Linosa non aveva porto né legna e ancorarsi lungo le sue coste era, sempre a detta di Idrisi, rischioso. Deserte sono, secondo Ibn Giubayr, Marettimo e Levanzo, mentre Favignana è abitata solo da un monaco, un romito che abita "una specie di castello", come riferisce il viaggiatore andaluso ripetendo però una tradizione già nota a Idrisi e, nel IX secolo, a Ibn Khurdhadbih[4].

Tre secoli dopo Idrisi, Tommaso Fazello riferisce una realtà solo in parte differente[5]. Tralasciando Malta e Gozo, ormai feudo dei Cavalieri, la principale isola minore abitata era Lipari, ripopolata e ulteriormente fortificata dopo il saccheggio di Barbarossa nel 1544. Veniva quindi Pantelleria i cui abitanti erano cristiani e sudditi del re di Spagna ma, come i maltesi contemporanei (non i cavalieri, ovviamente), parlavano e vestivano alla maniera dei saraceni. Vulcano e Vulcanello sono ricordate da Fazello esclusivamente per le eruzioni; a proposito della denomina-

3Ivi: I, 229.

4 Ivi, I, 52 (Idrisi); I, p. 167 (Ibn Giubayr); II, 667 (Ibn Khurdhadbih). Cfr. inoltre MAURICI, *La Sicilia occidentale* cit., p. 229; ASTHOR E., Trapani e i suoi dintorni secondo i geografi arabi, in *La Fardelliana*, a. I, 2-3, mag.-dic. 1982: 29-30.

5 FAZELLO TH., *De rebus siculis decadae duae,* Panormi 1558; trad. it. De Rosalia A., Nuzzo G. (ed.), *Storia di Sicilia*, Palermo 1990, deca I, libro I, capitolo I: 70-79.

zione di *Vulcania* Fazello dice che essa era corrente fra gli abitanti (*incolae*), in realtà non specificando se si riferisse a quelli di quest'ultima isola o della vicinissima Lipari. Didima-Salina è detta produrre vino, frutta e colture di ogni genere e aveva presumibilmente un nucleo di popolazione propria o era quanto meno frequentata da gente della vicina Lipari. Panarea era dotata di un porto non disagevole e vi si vedevano i resti di una "rocca abbattuta", unico segno di antica presenza umana. Resti di antica presenza umana sono citati anche per Lisca Bianca, mentre di Basiluzzo è notata solo l'attitudine alla coltivazione. Stromboli era per metà sterile per le continue eruzioni mentre l'altra metà produceva cotone e alberi da frutto, segno di una presenza umana. A Filicudi (*Fenicode*) Fazello ricorda solo i resti di una torre abbattuta; per Alicudi (*Ericode*) riferisce erroneamente il racconto di Strabone e Tolomeo relativo ai mercenari di Cartagine lasciati a morire a Osteade-Ustica. Per quest'ultima isola Fazello segnala solo la presenza dei ruderi di un abitato e di una chiesa dedicata a S. Maria, ancora esistente però nel XIII e XIV secolo[6]. Per il resto l'isola, alla metà del '500, era solo nido di pirati. Nulla da segnalare per la minuscola Isola delle Femmine, dove una torre di guardia verrà edificata solo alla fine del XVI secolo. Deserte, dalla descrizione di Fazello, sembrano le Egadi, anche la più grande e fertile di esse, Favignana, il cui castello medievale era stato abbandonato, quasi certamente per paura dei turchi. Esplicitamente deserte sono dette da Fazello le Pelagie: nella sola Lampedusa si vedevano tracce di un insediamento ed esisteva inoltre una cappella dedicata a S. Maria che continuerà a lungo ad esistere e offrire rifugio a naufraghi e schiavi fuggiaschi[7].

A dimostrare il sostanziale abbandono delle isole minori nel medioevo e in parte dell'era moderna, con le eccezioni appena ricordate, se non bastasse la documentazione archivistica e letteraria, si potrebbe far ricorso anche alle fonti iconografiche del XVI e XVII secolo. Ad esempio alle splendide vedute del *Teatro geografico* del 1686. In esse sono ben messe in risalto l'urbanizzazione diffusa di Malta e quella concentrata di Lipari, oltre all'abitato rurale sparso di Pantelleria. A Favignana era già ricominciata la colonizzazione, a partire dai nuclei della tonnara e dei castelli; anche la piccolissima Formica era, nel 1686, occupata dagli edifici della tonnara, ancora oggi esistenti; nell'immagine di Marittimo è segnalata la presenza di qualche casa e forse del castello dove, dalla fine del XVI secolo, menavano vita stentatissima i pochi soldati della guarnigione e più tardi anche alcuni miseri reclusi. Qualche fabbricato è indicato anche, forse in ricordo della chiesa di S. Maria, a Ustica, colonizzata solo a partire dal 1761. Appaiono invece del tutto de-

6 Documenti e bibliografia su Ustica medievale e moderna, fino alla colonizzazione del XVII secolo in FILANGERI C., MESSINA M., Pagine per Ustica, in *Archivio Storico Siciliano*, serie IV, vol. XXXI, 2005: 285-308.

7 Cfr. su questo punto ARNALDI I., *Nostra Signora di Lampedusa. Storia civile e materiale di un miracolo mediterraneo*, Milano: Leonardo 1990.

serte Vulcano (con Vulcanello, considerato ancora isolotto a parte), Salina, Panarea, Levanzo, Filicudi, Alicudi, Stromboli, oltre alla minuscola Lisca Bianca[8].

La differenza è dunque macroscopica. Isole coltivate, abitate, sfruttate in tutte le loro risorse ed inserite nella rete delle rotte navali e commerciali in età romana imperiale; isole, tranne le maggiori, abbandonate o quasi nel XII ed ancora nel XVI secolo e oltre. Quando e perché decade e eventualmente termina l'insediamento delle isole minori? Non è semplice fornire la o le risposte. La documentazione archivistica e letteraria fra il VI secolo e il XII è, come ben noto, assai scarsa. Sul versante archeologico da tempo, grazie a Luigi Bernabò Brea e Madeleine Cavalier, è ben conosciuta Lipari (ma con recenti novità per l'epoca bizantina) ed anche per Pantelleria gli scavi e le ricognizioni archeologiche recenti permettono di avere un quadro abbastanza significativo. Qualche dato archeologico abbiamo da qualche anno anche per Ustica, Marettimo, Favignana e, ora, per Lampedusa. Per Lipari bizantina e Vulcano disponiamo delle ricerche di Vittorio Giustolisi che sta ultimando anche una prospezione su Panarea.

Le Isole Eolie, ed in particolare Lipari e Vulcano, sono le più citate da autori altomedievali, tanto latini che greci, attratti dall'attività vulcanica e quindi dalle irresistibili suggestioni infere, a partire almeno dall'*infernum Theodrici* dei *Dialoghi* di Gregorio Magno[9]. La sede vescovile di Lipari è ricordata già dallo stesso Gregorio Magno e presuli liparoti compaiono nel VII e nell'VIII secolo[10]. Di monaci confinati nell'isola fa menzione Teodoro Studita in una lettera dell'809. Tale notizia, oltre a ribadire il ruolo delle isole come luogo di confino ed esilio, "conferma ulteriormente tanto l'esistenza di una popolazione nell'isola quanto i suoi collegamenti con il centro dell'impero"[11]. A Salina doveva esistere un nucleo di popolamento ancora nell'VIII secolo, stando alla *Vita Willibaldi*[12] che nell'isola si recò a pernottare verso il 725, salpando poi da li per Napoli. Il santo aveva tentato, o compiuto almeno fino ad un certo punto, l'ascensione al cratere di Vulcano, "l'inferno di Te-

8 Le vedute del *Teatro geografico antiguo y moderno del reyno de Sicilia* sono pubblicate in CONSOLO V., DE SETA C., *Sicilia teatro del mondo*, Torino: Nuova Eri 1990: 204-220.

9 GRÉGOIRE LE GRAND, *Dialogues*, IV 31, De Vogüe A., Antin P. (eds.), Paris 1980 (Sources Chrétiennes 265), III: 104-106. Si veda inoltre BERNABO' BREA L., *Le isole Eolie dal tardo antico ai Normanni* (Biblioteca di "Felix Ravenna 5), Ravenna 1988; KISLINGER E., Le isole Eolie in epoca bizantina e araba. *Archivio Storico Messinese* 57, 1991: 5-18; IACOLINO G., *Le isole Eolie nel risveglio delle memorie sopite (il primo millennio cristiano)*. Lipari: Aldo Natoli Editore, 1996.

10 Girgensohn D. (ed.), *Italia pontificia*, vol. X, *Calabria, Insulae*. Turici: apud Weidmannos, 1975: 355-357.

11 TEODORO STUDITA, in *Patrologia Greca* 99, col. 1072; KISLINGER E., Le isole Eolie, cit.: 11.

12 *Vita Willibaldi episcopi Eichstetensis*, O. Holder-Egger (ed.), Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptores XV, 1, Hannover: Hahnsche Buchhandlung, 1887: pp. 101-102. Cfr. inoltre IACOLINO G., *Le isole Eolie*, cit.: 196-197.

odorico”: la circostanza fa ritenere a Giustolisi che anche Vulcano non dovesse essere in quegli anni del tutto disabitata perché sembra difficile ritenere che la spedizione “venisse compiuta senza l’appoggio di gente del luogo e in assenza di un sentiero che invece doveva esistere da tempo ed essere continuamente percorso da chi si recava sulla sommità per il durissimo lavoro dell’estrazione dello zolfo”[13].

Sarebbe superfluo ricordare la collocazione geografica delle Eolie lungo una via marittima importantissima. La rottura dell’unità politica del Mediterraneo vede quindi le acque dell’arcipelago, almeno fin dagli anni della guerra greco-gotica[14], come luogo deputato più di altri per imboscate, battaglie navali, atti di pirateria e guerra da corsa: un ruolo che il mare delle Eolie manterrà per tutto il medioevo e l’età moderna. Gli attacchi musulmani contro Lipari e l’arcipelago, per quel che ne sappiamo, iniziano dopo la presa di Palermo bizantina che nell’831 consegna ai saraceni un’ottima base per l’avanzata nel settore tirrenico[15]. Nell’835 una squadra navale musulmana si diresse contro una città, che potrebbe anche esser stata Lipari, e vinse uno scontro con i bizantini, depredando e facendo prigionieri poi passati a fil di spada. L’anno seguente è documentata una spedizione contro isole antistanti la Sicilia, quasi certamente proprio le Eolie[16]. Questa attività aggressiva si inquadra nell’avanzata islamica lungo la costa tirrenica in direzione dello Stretto. A Lipari dovette restare per il momento qualche nucleo di abitanti ed alcuni vecchi monaci che poco dopo consegnarono o furono costretti a consegnare le reliquie di San Bartolomeo a emissari longobardi giunti in nave, forse da Amalfi: le ossa saranno traslate a Salerno e poi nella capitale del ducato beneventano[17]. Una temporanea ed effimera riconquista bizantina di Lipari è stata ipotizzata sulla base di due sigilli vescovili e di una moneta di Leone VI (886-889)[18] ma forse Lipari e le Eolie restarono almeno nominalmente sotto dominio bizantino (ma di certo in zona di guerra) anche dopo la caduta in mani arabe di Cefalù (858). In ogni caso la storia di Lipari bizantina si chiude certamente dopo la disastrosa sconfitta navale bizantina nelle acque di Milazzo dell’888 o, al massimo, in seguito alla capitolazione, nel 902, dell’ultimo ridotto difensivo bizantino del Val Demone[19].

Non possiamo dire con certezza se durante queste convulse vicende Lipari

13 GIUSTOLISI V., *Vulcano* cit.: 42.

14 Si veda KISLINGER E. La storia di Lipari bizantina riconsiderata, in GIUSTOLISI V. et AL., *Alla ricerca di Lipari bizantina*. Palermo: Centro di Documentazione e Ricerca per la Sicilia antica “P.Orsi”, 2001: 13.

15 Ivi: 16.

16 AMARI M., *Storia dei Musulmani di Sicilia*, 2a ed. a c. di C.A. Nallino. Catania: Prampolini, 1933-39: I, p. 438.

17 KISLINGER E. La storia di Lipari bizantina, cit.: 16. IACOLINO G., *Le isole Eolie*, cit.: 204-212.

18 GIUSTOLISI V., *Alla ricerca di Lipari*, cit.: 7-8.

19 KISLINGER E. La storia di Lipari bizantina, cit.: 16.

ed altre isole dell'arcipelago eoliano fossero deserte o ancora mantenessero qualche nucleo di popolazione. Per Salina, L. Bernabò Brea e M. Cavalier ritengono che gli ultimi abitanti cristiani abbiano cercato rifugio in grotte parte naturali e parte scavate nella parte più impervia dell'isola[20]. Anche a Vulcano, V. Giustolisi ha individuato alcune cavità, in origine soprattutto tombe preistoriche, riutilizzate come abitazioni "a partire almeno dall'età bizantina"[21]. Per Lipari G. Iacolino e V. Giustolisi ritengono certa la presenza di nuclei di popolazione cristiana anche in età islamica [22]. Ciò è possibile, ma in ogni caso "i pochi isolani superstiti e i loro discendenti continuarono a vivere quasi del tutto estranei alla storia che vicino ad essi si svolgeva". Lipari rientra nella storia solo con la conquista normanna; per altre isole dell'arcipelago occorrerà attendere ancora.

Nessuna fonte altomedievale latina o greca, che io sappia, nomina alcuna delle Egadi, al di là degli accenni nell'Anonimo Ravennate e in Stefano Bizantino. Nel XI secolo Ibn Khurdhadbih menziona 'l'isola del romito', da identificarsi con Favignana, aggiungendo che in essa, in un passato non meglio definito, venivano castrati gli schiavi[23]. I rinvenimenti archeologici mostrano una intensa occupazione di Favignana almeno fino al V secolo d. C.; poche monete di VI ed una di VII si trovano inoltre nel locale Antiquarium[24]. E' quindi evidente che "solo un'indagine archeologica potrà accertare se, in seguito alla conquista bizantina della Sicilia, le isole Egadi mantennero o meno quella importanza strategica di cui avevano goduto nei secoli precedenti"[25]. Si è già visto che le fonti storiche documentano una nuova presenza stabile a Favignana solo a partire dal XIII secolo. Non vedo però ostacoli particolari all'ipotesi di una continuità di vita, in quest'isola relativamente grande, abbastanza ricca di risorse e molto vicina alla costa siciliana, ancora nel VI, nel VII secolo ed anche fino agli inizi della conquista musulmana della Sicilia. Per Levanzo abbiamo solo poche tracce archeologiche di età romana, relative in particolare ad un impianto di salagione del pesce. A Marettimo gli scavi di 'Case Romane' hanno mostrato una fase altomedievale fino all'VIII e IX secolo (moneta di Michele III, 842-866) cui sembra seguire uno *hiatus* di due secoli, fino alla seconda metà dell'XI e quindi alla conquista normanna.

20 BERNABÒ BREA L., CAVALIER M., Salina: 231.

21 GIUSTOLISI V., *Atlante delle antiche strutture rupestri*, cit.: 5. L'architettura rupestre però, specie nel caso di strutture assai povere come quelle delle Eolie, va considerata con moltissima prudenza.

22 IACOLINO G., *Le isole Eolie,* cit.: 207. GIUSTOLISI V., *Alla ricerca di Lipari*, cit.: 10.

23 Ivi, I, 52 (Idrisi); I, p. 167 (Ibn Giubayr); II, 667 (Ibn Khurdhadbih). Cfr. inoltre MAURICI F., *La Sicilia occidentale* cit., p. 229; ASTHOR E., Trapani e i suoi dintorni secondo i geografi arabi, in *La Fardelliana*, a. I, 2-3, mag.-dic. 1982: 29-30.

24 MACALUSO R., Le monete della collezione civica di Favignana, in *Studi sulla Sicilia Occidentale in onore di Vincenzo Tusa*, Padova 1993: 118.

25 *Ibidem*.

Informazioni maggiori disponiamo per Pantelleria, tanto grazie alle fonti disponibili che a recenti scavi e scoperte archeologiche. La quieta vita della *Cossyra* bizantina dura fino alla conquista araba della Tunisia. Profughi cristiani provenienti da Kelibia (*Clypea*) fuggirono a Pantelleria in occasione della conquista araba della città e della regione circostante. Qui vissero fino al califfato di Abd al-Malik ibn Marwan (685-705) quando una spedizione navale comandata da Abd al-Malik ibn Qatan occupò, forse verso il 700, dopo la caduta di Cartagine, le isole di fronte la costa africana: fra esse era anche Pantelleria le cui fortificazioni furono spianate[26]. Forse fu in occasione di questo primo raid che la popolazione dell'isola subì un eccidio di proporzioni talmente grandi e drammatiche da essere ricordato ancora secoli dopo nei versi di Ibn Hamdis. Secondo il poeta arabo, la sabbia di Pantelleria era frammista ai frammenti dei crani degli uccisi e ancora si sentiva il puzzo di putrefazione. L'iperbole è evidente ma la strage dei cristiani di Pantelleria dovette essere veramente generale se egli sente il bisogno, dopo secoli, di giustificare l'azione: "Ma [i musulmani] non trucidarono gli abitatori, no, per crudeltà d'animo; ma perché si vedean pochi e circondati da' molti"[27]. La poetica ipocrisia, ancor oggi insopportabile, ci ricorda qualora fosse necessario che l'occupazione islamica della Sicilia, come tutte le guerre di conquista e forse più di molte altre, fu una successione di stragi terribili e di immani rapine, con buona pace anche della grande anima di Michele Amari. Un altro autore arabo vissuto fra XII e XIII secolo, Yaqut, retrocede la scorreria islamica su Pantelleria agli anni del califfo Muawiah (661-680), aggiungendo che essa fu sotto controllo musulmano fino al tempo del califfo Abd al-Malik ibn Marwan, rimanendo quindi disabitata dopo il 705 circa[28].

In realtà, una qualche presenza cristiana organizzata rimase nell'isola sino almeno ai primi del IX secolo. A Pantelleria esistette un monastero greco di cui è pervenuta in un testo paleoslavo la regola, di una durezza quasi militare[29]. Il monastero è minacciato e circondato dagli *atheoi*, cioè dai musulmani che ormai controllano il mare. Una incursione, avvenuta forse nell'806 e verosimilmente condotta da musulmani di Spagna (vigeva una tregua fra aghlabiti di Tunisia e impero bizantino), portò alla cattura di sessanta monaci. Essi vennero condotti prigionieri nell'*Andalus* ove furono in parte riscattati per iniziativa di Carlo Magno e poterono tornare "ad sua loca"[30]. Più o meno negli stessi anni Pantelleria era ancora usata

26 AL-BAKRI, in AMARI M., *Biblioteca Arabo-Sicula*, cit.: I, 30; AT-TIĞANI, ivi, II 41; AMARI M., *Storia dei Musulmani*, cit.: I, 290-291.

27 IBN HAMDIS, in AMARI M., *Biblioteca Arabo-Sicula*, cit.: 396.

28 YAKUT, ivi: I 214.

29 DUJCÈV I., Il tipico del monastero di S. Giovanni nell'isola di Pantelleria, in *Bollettino della Badia greca di Grottaferrata*, XXV, 1975: 3-17.

30 EGINARDUS, *Oeuvres completes*, Teulet A. (ed.), I. Paris 1840: 272. Si veda inoltre H. Bresc, Pantellerie entre l'Islam et la Chrètienté, in *Cahiers de Tunisie*, XIX, 1971: 105-127.

come luogo d'esilio per il metropolita di Sardi e i vescovi di Amorino[31] e Nicomedia che vi furono spediti sotto l'imperatore Niceforo Foca (803-811). L'isola era dunque ancora indubitabilmente abitata e sotto controllo bizantino. Verso l'anno 835 nelle acque o nel porto stesso di Pantelleria navi saracene intercettarono un *harraqah* bizantina a bordo della quale si trovava anche un musulmano rinnegato che fu decapitato insieme ai *rum* catturati con lui[32]. Non mi pare che la notizia possa essere utilizzata come prova certa del persistente controllo bizantino su Pantelleria. Sembra anzi difficile che dopo lo sbarco a Mazara dell'827 i musulmani si siano lasciati dietro una spina nel fianco, seppure modestissima come poteva eventualmente essere *Cossyra* ancora in mano bizantina. Tanto più che Ibn Khaldun riferisce che la conquista di Pantelleria fu realizzata sotto l'emiro aghlabita Ziyadat Allah I, lo stesso che ordinò l'invasione della Sicilia nell'827[33]. Non è certo che alla conquista di Pantelleria sia seguito immediatamente l'insediamento islamico. Per qualche tempo, infuriando ancora la guerra in Sicilia e nei mari, l'isola avrebbe potuto rimanere deserta o quasi: potrebbe essere sorta allora, come ipotizzato da H. Bresc, la tradizione di presenze diaboliche nei "luoghi salvatici, senza abitazione d'uomini" dell'isola testimoniata nel XIII secolo da ad-Dimisqi[34]. Una lunga fase di abbandono seguita alla conquista saracena è stata ipotizzata, sulla base del testo arabo di al-Himyari (XIV secolo), anche per Malta[35]: l'evidenza ceramica di vari siti maltesi smentisce però nettamente tale teoria[36].

Negli ultimi anni Pantelleria è stata oggetto di intensa attività di ricerca archeologica. Il II-III secolo d. C. sembra essere stato "il periodo più felice della sua esistenza"[37], con testimonianze archeologiche oltre che sull'acropoli (che occupa le colline di San Marco e Santa Teresa) anche in numerose contrade rurali. La ceramica da fuoco di Pantelleria si ritrova in Africa, in Sardegna, in Italia, in Francia, in Spagna, oltre che ovviamente in Sicilia: per la *Pantellerian Ware* si va sempre più precisando il carattere di produzione specializzata dell'isola, nel senso braudeliano[38]. Pantelleria dovette continuare a godere di questa lunga fase di tranquillità e

31 VON FALKENHAUSEN V., Il monachesimo greco in Sicilia, in *La Sicilia rupestre nel contesto delle civiltà mediterranee, Atti del sesto Convegno Internazionale di studio sulla civiltà rupestre medievale*, Galatina 1986: 154.

32 IBN AL ATHIR, in AMARI M., *Biblioteca Arabo-Sicula*, cit.: I, 370. L'episodio corrisponde allo scontro navale narrato da IBN KHALDUN, ivi: II, 176.

33 IBN KHALDUN, ivi: II, 163-164.

34 AD-DIMISQI, in AMARI M., *Biblioteca Arabo-Sicula*, cit.: I, 247.

35 BRINCAT, J.M., *Malta 870-1054: Al-Himyari's Account.* Malta 1991.

36 CASSAR, C., *A Concise History of Malta*. Msida, Malta 2000: 61-62.

37 TUSA, S., Archeologia e storia di un'isola del Mediterraneo, in SANTORO BIANCHI S., GUIDUCCI G., TUSA S. (eds.), *Pantellerian Ware. Archeologia subacquea e ceramiche da fuoco a Pantelleria*, Palermo 2003: 24.

38 Si veda BRAUDEL F., *Civiltà e imperi del Mediterraneo nell'età di Filippo II*, trad. it.,

benessere dalla conquista bizantina fino alla metà del VII secolo. Lo testimonia l'espansione dei vari insediamenti dell'isola, la quantità e la varietà delle classi ceramiche e delle anfore d'importazione presenti[39]. L'insediamento principale dell'isola riduce però la sua superficie già durante il VII secolo, rinserrandosi sempre più dentro o comunque attorno le mura dell'acropoli, mentre anche le campagne dell'isola si vanno spopolando dopo il VII secolo[40]. Vedere in tutto ciò il riflesso diretto della minaccia islamica è conclusione più che lecita.

Lampedusa, che io sappia, è l'unica delle Pelagie menzionata da fonti relative al periodo dell'espansione islamica. La minaccia musulmana dovette raggiungere quest'isola verosimilmente negli stessi anno in cui toccava nuovamente Pantelleria. Nell'812 o 813 Lampedusa è citata direttamente come meta di un raid. Una flotta bizantina, rinforzata da legni di Amalfi e Gaeta, era stata spedita in Sicilia per contrastare l'aggressività musulmana. Nel frattempo Lampedusa venne aggredita dai saraceni che agirono con tredici navi. Il comandante della squadra bizantina mandò in esplorazione sette legni che però furono intercettati dai musulmani e neutralizzati. Insospettiti per la mancanza di notizie da parte dell'avanguardia, i bizantini intervennero con tutte le forze e, incrociata la flotta araba, la distrussero[41]. Anche per Lampedusa, in ogni caso, è difficile ritenere che il dominio bizantino si sia mantenuto dopo lo sbarco arabo a Mazara nell'827: anche ammettendo per ipotesi che i musulmani si siano lasciati alle spalle quest'altra minuscola spina nel fianco, essa dovette essere eliminata ben presto. La ricerca archeologica documenta l'esistenza di un centro abitato (nel sito del paese odierno), in vita almeno fino al VII secolo, con una fase di particolare sviluppo fra V e VI documentata da una sorprendente quantità di ceramiche di importazione africana. All'insediamento era relativo un sepolcreto ipogeo ubicato lungo la falce del porto che ha restituito soprattutto materiali di V-VII secolo[42]. La fase bizantina più tarda non sembra fino ad ora conosciuta e per ritrovare notizie di Lampedusa, ormai deserta, occorre, come si è visto, giungere al XII e XIII secolo.

Ustica compare che io sappia solo una volta in una fonte altomedievale, precisamente nei *Dialogi* di Gregorio Magno. Si racconta qui della disavventura e del successivo evento miracoloso di cui fu protagonista e spettatore il vescovo di Palermo Agatone, in navigazione verso Roma al tempo del pontificato di Pelagio II (578-590). Colti da una tempesta, i naviganti "post multa pericola" poterono approdare a Ustica, avendo però perso fra i flutti un compagno di nome Varaga. Celebrato un officio per lo scomparso e riparata la nave, il vescovo poté giungere "ad

Torino 1976: I, 148-149.

39 BALDASSARI R., FONTANA S., Anfore a Pantelleria, cit.: 983.

40 SAMI D., Pantelleria in epoca bizantina, cit.: 406-410.

41 AMARI M., *Storia dei Musulmani*, cit.: I, 350-351.

42 DE MIRO A., Lampedusa tra il IV ed il VII secolo, cit.

portum romanum” dovè trovò, con enorme sorpresa, vivo e vegeto l’uomo caduto dalla nave durante la tempesta, fortunosamente sopravvissuto al tuffo, nutrito in mare per intervento soprannaturale e quindi raccolto da una nave e condotto in salvo[43]. E’ molto probabile, per non dire certo, che l’isoletta mantenesse alla fine del VI secolo il ruolo di scalo intermedio sulla rotta tirrenica fra la Sicilia occidentale e Roma; certo è che essa potesse dare asilo ai marinai colti da tempesta. Pur non essendovi menzione diretta di abitanti, è verosimile ipotizzare che la riparazione della nave “fluctibus squassata” sia stata realizzata con l’ausilio dei locali; anche la funzione sacra per il presunto morto fu forse celebrata in una chiesa e non sulla spiaggia deserta né sulla nave. Le ricerche archeologiche a Ustica, realizzate soprattutto da Giovanni Mannino a partire dal 1970, mostrano in effetti una densa fase di popolamento in età tardo romana e nella prima età bizantina (V-VI sec.), con una grande necropoli anche con tombe ipogee sulla Rocca della Falconiera (l’abitato principale) e vari insediamenti rurali sparsi per l’isola[44]. Uno di questi, ubicato presso Punta Spalmatore, potrebbe esser durato fino all’ultima età bizantina.

Le conclusioni che è possibile trarre sono necessariamente provvisorie, considerando le conoscenze archeologiche ancora embrionali per la maggior parte delle isole e la nota difficoltà a riscontrare sul terreno, attraverso i soli materiali ceramici, i secoli VIII e IX. Una fase significativa di popolamento in età tardo romana e nella prima epoca bizantina sembra però un tratto comune. L’arrivo di profughi dall’Africa vessata dai vandali, dai nomadi mauri ed infine conquistata dagli arabi è un fatto attestato per Pantelleria dopo la presa di *Clypea*-Kelibia e per una isola anonima ove si rifugia il vescovo Rufianiano, sfuggendo dalla Bizacena e dalle persecuzioni vandale[45]: l’afflusso di profughi potrebbe essere un ulteriore motivo in comune nella storia di almeno alcune altre fra le isole minori della Sicilia.

Indubbio è l’uso di Pantelleria e Lipari (e dell’arcipelago maltese) come luogo di esilio e detenzione fino all’ultima fase bizantina. L’uso carcerario delle isole riprenderà nel medioevo (Pantelleria e Malta), si diffonderà in età moderna (Favignana, Marettimo) e diverrà comune nel XX secolo, durante la guerra di Libia e nel ventennio fascista. Insediamenti monastici d’età bizantina sono documentati a Pantelleria, a Lipari e nell’anonima isoletta siciliana ove viveva il *solitarius* che in sogno previde la morte di re Dagoberto, avvenuta nel 639[46]. La presenza monastica può ipotizzarsi anche per Favignana, nota agli arabi come ‘isola del monaco’, e per

43 GREGORII MAGNI, *Dialogi*, Moricca U. (ed.), Roma, 1924: 321-322.

44 Si veda la bibliografia riportata *supra*, nota 1. Un’epigrafe cristiana greca oggi scomparsa è edita in Kaibel G. (ed.), *Inscriptiones Graecae*, XIV: Berolini, apud Georgium Reimerum, 1890: nr. 592.

45 *S. Fulgentii episcopi respensis vita*, in *Patrologia Latina*, LXV, Paris 1847: 130.

46 *Aimoni Historia Francorum libri quattuor*, in *Patrologia Latina*, CXXIX, Paris 1853: 791.

il sito di ‘Case Romane’ a Marittimo.

L’irrompere dei musulmani nel Canale d’Africa e nel Tirreno e la conquista dell’*Ifriqiya* stravolge l’apparentemente quieta vita delle isole ma non ne segna subito l’abbandono. Qualcosa di Pantelleria bizantina sopravvive ad un primo disastroso raid saraceno avvenuto verso il 700; l’isola era infatti ancora meta di scorrerie islamiche all’inizio del successivo. Anche a Lipari un nucleo di popolazione cristiana ed una presenza ufficiale bizantina potrebbero essere sopravvissute alle prime scorrerie islamiche negli anni ’30 del IX secolo. L’ultima fase bizantina è però pesantemente segnata dalla paura e dalla necessità della difesa. A Pantelleria l’abitato principale si stringe fra le mura dell’acropoli mentre i monaci del locale monastero invocano invano San Basilio perché interceda e li salvi dai pagani[47]; a Salina e forse a Vulcano gli ultimi abitanti si riducono a vivere da trogloditi, sperando di scampare alla furia dei saraceni. Il resto sono ipotesi, molto verosimili, ma da verificare mediante il proseguimento e l’allargamento delle ricerche archeologiche. Al più tardi nel corso del IX secolo, con la guerra di conquista che infuria in Sicilia e nei suoi mari, la maggior parte delle isole, raggiunte anche più volte da incursioni islamiche, perde probabilmente gli ultimi abitanti cristiani senza ricevere un nuovo popolamento stabile musulmano. Vivere nelle isole è divenuto troppo difficile, troppo pericoloso. Eccezione parziale potrebbe avere fatto Lipari, forse mai spopolata del tutto, mentre Pantelleria, ed ancor di più Malta e Gozo, conosceranno una colonizzazione araba destinata a conseguenze profonde e durevoli. Le altre isole minori della Sicilia rimangono a lungo una sorta di terra di nessuno, utilizzate come scali per la navigazione, come nascondigli per la guerra navale, la corsa e la pirateria[48]: e questo fino ben dentro l’età moderna.

47 ACCONCIA LONGO A. (ED.), Analecta hymnica Greca e codicibus eruta Italie inferioris Ioseph Schirò consilio et ductu edita, X, Canona Iunii. Roma 1974: 172.

48 Si veda BUSCAGLIA A., *Linosa: l’isola del tesoro dei pirati barbareschi.* Agrigento 1991.

Persons of reference: Maltese and Sicilian scholars and their importance for the Grand Tour

THOMAS FRELLER

The 'age of discovery' and the economic expansion of the central European states destabilised the static medieval concept of the world and the 'authorities' on which its scholastic teaching relied (Lohmeier 1979: 3-8). The old order crumbled in the face of the innumerable new discoveries to which it could not accommodate. The scientific societies of the seventeenth century played a central role in transforming the notion of '*curiositas*' into a positive concept. For example members of the Royal Society in London referred to those who were in sympathy with their aims as '*curiosi*', whereas the German scientific society called itself the *Academia naturae curiosorum*. The Royal Society and its European counterparts patronised travellers, encouraging them to make observations while travelling, to make contacts and to publish accounts after their return. More and more it was the primacy of experience rather than reliance on traditional authorities which made every educated man`s account of his travels, if based on his honest observations, of unique importance.

It was an ambitious, very kaleidoscopic approach which most authors aimed to achieve, an encyclopaedic view which would do justice to the fact that all information had become equally important. This was also the principle of the writers of travelogues and compilers in the 17th century when touching the islands of Sicily and Malta. It is only logical that in this concept contacts with foreign scholars and men of letters became a must. Another important issue was the visit of foreign collections or museums (*Kunstkammern*) or cabinets of curiosities. In fact it was this sort of cabinet which echoed best the kaleidoscope principle of Baroque *Weltanschauung*. These cabinets consisted of a vast range of objects and artefacts collected and exhibited not just for their rarity or value, but on the basis of their ability to astound the observer. On a philosophical level the *Kunstkammer* appears to represent the intermediary stage between the loss of one order and the establishment of another (Scheicher 1979; Schlosser 1908). Maybe the most famous of these examples was the *Museo Kircheriano* in Rome. It was set up by the encyclopaedic

scholar Athanasius Kircher. The Jesuit Kircher was no stranger to Sicily and Malta. He had visited the islands in 1637 and 1638 and on these occasions had collected many items which later formed part of his museum (Zammit-Ciantar 1991). Also the cabinets and museums in Palermo, Catania, Syracuse and Malta, established by Giuseppe Gioeni, Ignazio Vincenzo Paternò, Principe di Biscari, Cesare Gaetani della Torre, Gabriele Lancelotto, Principe di Torremuzza, Carlo Antonio Barbaro, Saverio Landolina Nava or Giovanni Francesco Abela, displayed a wide range of objects.

The eighteenth century saw the breaking down of these cabinets into smaller collections grouped according to thematic categories – objects of art, archaeology, botany and anthropology all formed separate collections and were separately housed. Those objects whose sole function had been to amaze the visitor to the 'Kunstkammer' (e.g. deformations) were transferred into the storage rooms of the museums and were forgotten. These are very much the categories which were at work in the traveller`s observation. We will come back to this when we discuss some specific examples. That these new classifications and structures were not followed by many Sicilian and Maltese collectors and connoisseurs in the 18th century provoked a lot of criticism by English, French or German travellers, who interpreted this as a symbol of the intellectual backwardness of the local societies. The same development can be seen in the travel literature of the age – the encyclopaedic approach gave way to the specific enquiry, or the individual interest of the traveller himself and travelogues were compartmentalized according to the purpose they fulfilled.

The value placed on empirical knowledge, personal enquiry and observation had given the traveller a central role from the 16th century onwards. The initial lack of focus in these 'scientific' enquiries, which had not yet been channelled in specific directions, led to an attempt to make observations as comprehensive as possible. It was this general lack of focus and specialisation which permitted the owner of a *Kunstkammer* or cabinet of curiosities to feel that he was participating in scientific activities. Contrary to the 18th century in the 17th century the attitude to science was still dominated by religion, by the idea that unravelling the mysteries of the physical world man was fulfilling a divine mission. For the classification of such mysteries the traveller assumed a central role and he was encouraged to make 'encyclopaedic observations'.

Before discussing some examples of these approaches a few more words might be dedicated to the question why scholars and connoisseurs should undertake a risky voyage down to the Southern End of Italy and set over to Sicily and Malta (Cf. Freller 1998; Freller 2002; Tuzet 1988). Sicily - with a few exceptions - up to

the late 18th century was not investigated by the traditional Grand Tour. This changed drastically after 1770 when the revived interest in the classical Greek and Roman period made *Magna Graecia* and Sicily two attractive aims for European travellers. The implications of this change were felt in various aspects of historical science, art, literature and philosophy. To put it in the correct sequence, already in the centuries and decades before the genesis of the 'Classical Tour' artists, writers, scientists, noblemen and connoisseurs undertook a *giro* to Italy and very often visited some locations where ancient temples and shrines could be seen. The real fascination in these objects, however, started not before in the 18th century philosophy and ideology had created new tools to interpret classical history anew. Europe had discovered again the spirit of its Mediterranean and especially Roman and Greek roots. The ways and methods to approach this movement were multifaceted. As regards the European approach to Malta, things were different. Malta had already attracted European attention in the 16th century when the Order of St. John converted the island into a Christian bulwark against the Ottoman expansion. As a consequence a number of European scholars had been attracted to the island to study its language, history and culture. In the course of these travels the ports and towns of the East Coast of Sicily, Messina, Catania and Syracuse, also became the focus of attention.

The beginning

The main start to connect Malta and, therewith also to a certain extent Sicily, with the central European *comunitas litteraria* was made in the times of Humanism in the 16th and early 17th century. Thomas Bartholin (1644), André Thevet (1549 and 1551), Barthélemy Herbelot (1655), Bartholomeus Gurgewitz (1588), Burchardus Niderstedt (1654), Michel Chaillou (1680), Ehrenfried Walter von Tschirnhaus (1678), Johann Septimus (1578), Hieronymus Megiser (1588), Georg Walter ('Gualterus') (1624), Hans Poulsen Resen (later bishop of Sjaelland) (1590), Philipp Cluver (1617), Athanasius Kircher (1637), Lukas Holstenius (1617 and 1637), Mathieu de Chazelles (1693) and Balthasar de Monconys (1646) are but a few of the scholars and scientists of considerable renown who visited Malta and Sicily in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Most of them had established multifaceted contacts with local scholars and connoisseurs. But there were also Sicilians and Maltese, such as Leonardo Abela, Paolo Boccone, Domenico and Carlo Magri, or Giovanni Francesco Buonamico, who had carved their names into European awareness.

What creates some headaches is the scarcity of documents unearthed until now. In the sixteenth century there are hardly any documents on relevant scholarly exchange. One of the few examples are the 1549 and 1551 visits by the French scholar André Thevet, the author of the impressive *Cosmographie de Levant*

(1556) and *Cosmographie Universelle* (1575) who had been helped by the erudite prior of Capua, Strozzi, in his research of Malta and Sicily and their history. Indeed many early works on Malta and Sicily could only have been written through the help of others, namely knights and erudite Maltese and Sicilians. In the seventeenth century, however, the network of the international *comunitas litteraria*, namely the scientific societies and academies started to provide visiting scholars with contacts. When the young classical scholar from Augsburg, Georg Walter ('Gualtherus'), visited Sicily and Malta in 1624 to collect, classify, and decipher Greek and Roman inscriptions, his main contact and reference was the erudite vice-chancellor of the Order of St. John, Giovanni Francesco Abela, a scholar and historian himself and author of the important *Descrittione di Malta* (1647). Abela guided Walter around some caves at Marsa and showed him his 'museum'. (Gualtherus 1625: 51)

Abela was also the contact for the Jesuit scholars Athanasius Kircher and Lukas Holstenius who visited Malta for a couple of months in the summer of 1637, and also for a group of learned British travellers who toured the island with him in November and December 1648. The events are described in a highly-interesting but unfortunately anonymous diary entitled *Travells thorough France, Italy, Naples, Sicily, Malta*, now preserved in the Folger Shakespeare Library. The British visitors even visited Abela's villa and museum at Marsa 'up the haven, where are many antiquitys worth seeing, and [Abela] is extreame civil to strangers; he shewed us a gyants tooth described in his book, Scarabaei annulus; all souldiers wore such; a medale of the Grand Master Valetta, upon occasion of the victory; a medaile of Dido, on the one side Carthage built by her' (Anonymous 1987: 120 ff.).

Between late May 1637 and early February 1638 the above-mentioned Athanasius Kircher not only acted as confessor to the young Viscount of Hesse-Darmstadt who had just enrolled in the Order in Malta, but taught mathematics to young knights, compiled his physical treatise 'Specula Melitensis' allegedly written by the historian Salvatore Imbroll, and wrote a short account of his visit to the troglodytes of Ghar il-Kbir, which was later published in his *Mundus subterraneus*. Kircher also – and this is not well known – composed his book *Iter exaticum coeleste* in Malta (Hein, Mader 1997). In 1644 Abela was contacted by the great anatomist and natural scientist Thomas Bartholin who visited Malta on his educational tour through Europe. But Bartholin was not only interested in anatomy and human bones. In various contributions to the *Epistolae Medicinales* (1663) and *Historiarum Anatomicarum et Medicarum rariora* (1654-61), he referred to his visit and his activities on the island. A few years before his death Abela welcomed another eminent scholar, the Holstenian councillor, Latinist, and historian Burchardus Niderstedt who was sent to Malta by the Herrenmeister of the Protestant branch of the

Order of St. John in Brandenburg-Prussia, Johann Moritz of Nassau-Siegen, to collect material for a new description of Malta. Niderstedt knew Italy from a *giro* in 1650 when he had been a student at Padua and might have even visited Malta. In Malta in 1654 he was helped a lot by Abela, '*Excellentissimo viro, Vice-Cancellario'*, as he described him. In 1660 the Hildesheim-born scholar finally published his popular *Malta vetus et nova*. In Malta Niderstedt also got information from the aged Christian von Osterhausen, the author of several books on the history and statutes of the Order.

However, Abela was not the only learned contact. In December 1646, the French scholar Balthasar de Monconys met a local expert in Arabic language and culture who had also lent him an Arabic grammar (Monconys 1697: 171 ff.). The Sicilian botanist Paolo Boccone had visited Malta and Gozo several times in the 1660s but he still needed the help of the physician Narduccio Murmuro, then living in Gozo, who collected the *Cynomorium Coccineum* and several other plants and sent them over to him in Palermo. In the 1690s in a long letter Boccone informed John Hoskins, then president of the Royal Society, on the qualities of the *Cynomorium Coccineum* of Gozo (Boccone 1674). In 1739 the Scottish compiler John Campbell edited the account of an anonymous British merchant who had spent some time in Malta in the 1660s. We are not told where this gentleman lodged in Valletta but his landlord, a certain Mr Perez, proved very helpful, and he brought the British traveller in contact with a 'Sicilian Physician whose name was Sprotti' who served as a kind of *cicerone* to the 'curiosities of the Island', namely the summer palaces of the grand masters, Mdina, Rabat and St Paul's Grotto, and the fortresses of the Order (Campbell 1739: 170 ff.).

There are no documents which prove that the above mentioned Thomas Bartholin's greatest pupil, Nikolaus Steno, actually visited Sicily and Malta, but it seems that the 'father of modern geology' has been on the islands in 1668. Steno had actually corresponded with the Maltese *uomo universale*, Giovan Francesco Buonamico, on the problem of the *glossopetrae*. Buonamico had become involved in the controversy about the origin of the *glossopetrae* or so called snakes tongues, when he was asked about the matter by Paolo Boccone, the botanist and naturalist of the grand duke of Tuscany. Boccone in the spring and summer of 1668 spent some time in Malta and Gozo carrying out some research on local flora and fauna. Before coming over, Boccone had been asked by his friend from Messina, the naturalist and painter Agostino Scilla, to gather as much information on Maltese fossils as possible. Buonamico wrote a long treatise on the origin of the Maltese *glossopetrae* and sent it to Scilla who responded by a counterthesis, *La vana speculazione disingannata dal senso, lettera risponsiva circa i corpi marini, che petrificati si trovano in varii luoghi terrestri*' (1670), and insisted that these *glossopetrae* were

nothing but fossilized sharks' teeth. Scilla's book had at least three Latin re-editions in the next decades. In fact from the 1660s onwards the Maltese 'St Paul's tongues' or *glossopetrae* became a standard subject of description and discussion by all sorts of visitors to Malta.

Linguists and bibliophiles

The eighteenth century was the high period of the culture of letter-writing. Without modern means of travelling and communication, letters were the only way for scholars and scientists to stay in contact with one other and remain updated with the latest news and information. The Comte de Caylus corresponded with the erudite knight of Malta Félicien de Monts de Savasse his entire life. Both the encyclopaedic Gozitan scholar Canon Gio Pietro Francesco Agius de Soldanis and the Maltese Count Gian Antonio Ciantar kept a multifaceted correspondence with several scholars in Italy, France, and Germany (Soldanis 1999; Archive of the Order of Malta (Valletta) MS 145, 146). In the late 1760s Karl von Zinzendorff sojourned in Malta and wrote:, '*Der gelehrte Ritter Compagnoni führte mich zum Grafen von Ciantar Verfasser verschiedener gelehrter Werke, worunter jenes von der Anlandung des Heiligen Paulus zu Maltha das merkwürdigste ist. Er hatte des Abela Malta illustrata verbessert und vermehrt; da er aber das Manuskript nach Venedig zum Druck schickte, ging es unterwegs verloren. Ich fand ihn daher beschäftigt, es wieder herzustellen. Weil er seitdem blind geworden ist, so diktiert er es einem Kopisten in die Feder, und beweist hierdurch die ungewöhnliche Stärke seines Gedächtnisses*' (Zinzendorff 1785: 218). On the same day he visited Agius de Soldanis, '*Ein Mann der auch durch andere gelehrte Schriften besonders durch seinen Discurso apologetico intorno il naufragio di S. Paolo seiner Nation Ehre macht*' (Zinzendorff 1785: 221). Soldanis then was member of at least four Italian academies and in 1763 had been appointed first Librarian of what is now known as the National Library of Malta (Cf. Cassar Pullicino 1996). Soldanis stood in good contact with Giovanni Lami, Professor of Ecclesiastical History at Florence, famous antiquary and man of letters. Thanks to his help Soldanis could achieve the publication of his treatise on the famous Maltese *glossopietre* and the *Annone Cartaginese* (1757). Thanks to the publication of his *Della Lingua Punica* (1750), Soldanis` name became quite well known by foreign linguists and historians. In February 1750 he left Malta for a visit to Rome in the company of James Caulfield, first Earl of Charlemont, who before had visited Italy, the Greek islands, Constantinople, the Levant and Egypt (Soldanis 1750: 67).

Another interesting contact was established with Anthony Askew, a doctor and classical scholar. In 1747 and 1748 Askew toured the continent and Italy and became a good friend of Paolo Maria Paciaudi. Paciaudi was a corresponding member of the *Accademia Francese delle Iscrizioni e Belle Arti*, later he became

librarian of the Duke of Parma. In Malta he is well known for his *Memorie de` Gran Maestri del Sovrano Ordine Gerosolimitano* (1780). In 1748 he was in Naples and was occupied in archaeological research and the preparation for the publication of *Alcune Singolari e Strane Medaglie*. In the same year Soldanis had sent a Greek inscription found in Malta to Paciaudi for his views. On September 28th 1748, Paciaudi wrote to Soldanis informing him that Askew and Paciaudi agreed that it was just an impressive imitation (N(ational) L(ibrary) M(alta) Libr. MS, 146, ii, f. 241.). Shortly after, in the summer of 1749, Soldanis served as *cicerone* in Gozo for the English traveller Thomas Blackburn (NLM. Libr. MS. 146, ii, ff. 243r-244r.).

Information delivered by Agius de Soldanis found its way into the works of Jean Jacques Barthélemy, the Florentine scholars Stefano Borgia, the dissertations of the famous French linguist De Guignes, and many others. No wonder erudite travellers like Johann Hermann von Riedesel (1767), Lord Charlemont and the painter Dalton (1750), the Count of Zinzendorff (end of the 1760s), and the Abbé Fontenay (1758) were all interested in contacting Agius de Soldanis personally when visiting Malta. The person of Soldanis brings us to the highly interesting and very multifaceted international discussion about the allegedly Punic basis of the Maltese language. This discussion had also its effect on questions of national identity and politics. Its deep impact is certainly unthinkable without the contacts of travelling scholars. The original Maltese language had interested European historiographers, linguists, scholars and amateurs since the sixteenth century. In the spring of 1588 the Swabian *Ordinarius Historiographicus* Hieronymus Megiser had visited Malta and had collected Maltese words and phrases. He finally published parts of this list in 1603 in his *Thesaurus Polyglottus vel Dictionarium Multilingue* and in 1606 in his well-known *Propugnaculum Europae*. Megiser believed that the actual Maltese idiom contained fragments of Punic (Freller 1999: 205 ff.). In fact, starting with Quintin's *Insulae Melitae Descriptio* (1536) up to the mid-eighteenth century, most of the authors and travellers who contributed to a greater or lesser degree to the Maltese language had maintained that Maltese was directly rooted in the old Punic language. According to the sixteenth century Italian poet and historian Tommaso Porcacchi, the Maltese live '*alla Siciliana, e parlando lingua più tosto Carthaginese, che altro*' (Porcacchi 1572: 44). To support this claim Quintin and Porcacchi refer to the play *Poenulus* by T. Maccius Plautus, where some Punic words were quoted which were supposedly similar to Maltese. The question of the Maltese language, at least since the eighteenth century, went far beyond the topics of linguistics. The second half of the century was not only the period when scientific and cultural circles of Europe developed a strong interest in the history of Greek and Roman classics, it also witnessed a growing interest in oriental and Arabic culture and heritage. This approach and interest was, on one

hand, aesthetic and visual. On the other hand it also led to in depth studies of Arabic linguistics and history. The centres for these studies were the universities of France and Germany. Soon, in connection with this development, the Maltese language and its history also started being investigated.

In the eighteenth century more works, including word lists and references to the grammatical structure of Maltese, reflected an increasing interest in the investigation of the roots and history of this language. The professor of Greek and oriental languages at the university of Giessen (Hesse, Germany), Johannes Heinrich Majus, never visited Malta and the main source of his *Specimen Linguae Punicae in hodierna Melitensium superstitis* (1718) was material submitted to him by the Maltese Jesuit Ribier de Gattis. Especially through its second edition published in Leyden in 1725, Majus' work was widely known by oriental and classical scholars and interested amateurs. One of the chapters in Majus' *Specimen Linguae Punicae* reads '*Veterum Melitensium lingua eadem quae Punica*' (chapter 12, 'The language of the old Maltese is the same as the Punic one'). Majus concluded that 'modern' Maltese still contained some remains (*rudera*) of old Punic (Cf. Mangion 1992: 33 ff.; Cremona 1938). The next major work which dealt with Maltese was *Della Lingua Punica presentamente usata da maltesi* (1750) by Agius de Soldanis. In 1757 de Soldanis also published *Annone Cartaginese*. Soldanis`s works propagated two central ideas: that Maltese derives directly from the original Punic Language and that it may be of help to the study of the Etruscan language. Soldanis`s works and activities show strong influence of G. B. Vico and L. A. Muratori and other pioneers of folklore studies in Italy. Of course this 'Punic theory' would only have been possible through a uninterrupted occupation of the islands from the Punic era to early modern times – which was not the case. But in the times of Soldanis this historical point had been hardly researched. How carefully Soldanis' work was read is documented in the popular description of Malta published in several numbers of *Il Magazzino Italiano di Istruzione, e di Piacere* published between March and May 1752. Its anonymous author faithfully follows Soldanis regarding the Punic roots of Maltese. In 1756 M. Boncemy, *Historiographe ancien pensionnaire de l`Academie des Belles Lettres* and member of the *Academie Royale des Inscriptions*, had read Soldanis` book and desired to have him received as *Academicien des Belles Lettres* (NLM, Libr. MS. 146, f. 213r.). Throughout the eighteenth century the Punic history of Malta and the Punic language were standard topics in travelogues and travel diaries about the island. In fact there developed two schools: one followed the thoughts and interpretations of Soldanis while the other considered Maltese as just another corrupted dialect of the Arabic or Berber languages. Punic Malta is also discussed in detail in some unexpected sources, such as the well-known British scholar Jacob Bryant's *Observations and Inquiries relating to various parts of Ancient History* (1767) quoted by many travellers when visiting

the Pauline shrines in Malta in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century. It even found its way into Russian publications on Malta like Gregory Krayevski's *Kratkoye Tipograficheskoye, Istoricheskoye i Politicheskoye Opisaniye Ostrova Malt*i (1800/01).

In the second half of the eighteenth century the works of Majus and Soldanis were all of a sudden discredited and started attracting heavy criticism. What were the reasons for this? A deeper and more extensive study of the Oriental idioms and their interrelations led to the opinions of Majus and Soldanis becoming more and more refuted. After 1770 the question of the roots of the Maltese language became the object of a hot international debate between amateurs and experts. Scholars and travellers who dwelt upon this subject included such important personalities as the great French orientalist Silvestre de Sacy, the Danish philologist Friedrich Münter, the German Oriental scholars and professors Johann Joachim Bellermann and Wilhelm Gesenius, and the librarian Johann Christoph Adelung. The development of this discussion is interesting not only from the scientific aspect. It very soon became involved with matters of national identity and the nascent nationalism. As in contemporary Italy, where scholars and artists like Piranesi favoured the theory of a greater direct Etruscan influence on Roman culture, against the common belief of Greek dominance, it became convenient for a new generation of Maltese scholars and men of letters – foremost the Maltese Oriental scholar Mikiel Anton Vassalli – to stress a supposed root of Maltese in the then fascinating and still mysterious ancient Punic language. By the end of the eighteenth century, the Punic language had not been still fully deciphered and it was attracting major interest throughout Europe. In fact interest in the Punic history and language was boosted through excavations made in Malta. Visitors to Sicily and Malta at the end of the eighteenth century, as Münter, Roland de la Platière, Torre di Rezzonico, Saint-Priest, and authors like Kayser, hardly ever fail to refer to the Punic heritage in their travelogues and writings.

How widespread the interest in this subject was is shown, for example, in the writings of the Swedish traveller Jacob Jonas Bjoernsthal. In the winter of 1770/71, Bjoernsthal was sailing from Toulon to Civitavecchia when he realized that there were both Arabs and Maltese on board the ship and stimulated by curiosity, investigated the connection between the two languages. He was surprised how easily the Maltese could communicate with the Arabs. The Swedish traveller knew about the *Annone Cartaginese* and *Della lingua punica* and asked the Maltese merchants to write some words in their native language. Bjoernsthal strongly disagreed with the theory of Majus and Soldanis: 'It is surprising that a native from Malta does not know which type of language he speaks. The Punic theory is nothing but a dream' (Bijörnsthal 1777: i, 216 ff.). This episode also reflects – although negatively – to

what extent Soldanis' *Della lingua punica* was known to scholars and amateurs alike in the second half of the eighteenth century. In fact this work was to play a major part in the revelation of the Arabic forgeries of the Maltese Abbate Giuseppe Vella, who had claimed to have found and translated long-lost Arabic manuscripts dealing with the history of Sicily under the Arabs and Normans. In 1786 the French scholar de Guignes had pointed out the similarity between Vella's 'medieval' Arabic documents and the Maltese language. De Guignes did this by using Soldanis' *Della lingua punica* (Freller 2001: chapter v).

The second half of the eighteenth century witnessed an increasing general interest in the historical and ethnological roots of countries and the character and identity of their peoples. In Malta, too, people developed a strong desire in getting to know their own national roots, identity, and culture, independently of the Order of St John. Subjects like science, culture, and language provided the platform for these new interests. This discussion on the language soon became interwoven with matters of national identity and developing nationalism. Maltese scholars and men of letters – especially Soldanis and Vassalli – found it convenient to stress that Maltese was rooted in the still mysterious ancient Punic language. Many foreigners too supported the view that there was still a considerable amount of Punic rudiments in Maltese. Very often this new approach was accompanied by a critical approach to the government of the Order which was now in obvious decline and struggling to maintain its *raison d'être*. The main proponent of the romantically-inspired but also politically-motivated Punic theory was Vassalli.

In the 1790s Vassalli wrote two Maltese grammars, one in Latin and another in Italian. He also carried out the systematic compilation of a Maltese-Italian-Latin dictionary. Scholars like him were influenced by the Enlightenment which had a static concept of language. Vassalli idealized rural speech and understood it in an abstract way as the 'true' language. In his works Vassalli appealed to the people of Malta ('*alla Nazione Maltese*') to learn their own language, cultivate it, and use it as a means of self-education. Not only Vassalli was pro-French, but there were many Maltese men of letters who sided with the French and the ideas of the French encyclopaedists and liberals. One was the anonymous Maltese author of the *Recherches Historiques et Politiques sur Malte* (1798). Malta was, to him, not only his '*patrie*' but a nation. He admires '*le citoyen Vassallo*' for his work on the Maltese language. The anonymous author presents Maltese as a key to the interpretation of Punic. In the 1790s Mikiel Anton Vassalli`s linguistic studies also found some echo in the circles of the European scholars. For example the Dutch politician and scholar Johann Meerman sojourned in Malta in March and April 1792 and wrote: 'A certain abbot (sic), who has recently published a grammar of this language in Latin, asserts that it is a Phoenico-Punic language, and one of the oldest

human languages, related to Chaldaen' (Strickland (ed.) 2005: 134). Several learned and open-minded contemporary visitors fully realized the political impact and background of Vassalli's publications. Charles Sonnini de Manoncourt, who visited Malta in 1777 but published his reworked travelogue only in 1800, wrote that 'Antonio Vassalli, a learned Maltese, has lately vindicated his nation from the charge of having no tongue of its own, having demonstrated that the Maltese may vie with the most copious of the living languages' (Sonnini 1800: 55). In the early nineteenth century, historians like Louis de Boisgelin still believed what de Soldanis and Vassalli had written on the roots of the Maltese language. Many learned visitors, like Alfred Reumont in November 1832, knew Vassalli's works.

The harsh criticism of the 'amateur' linguist Bjoernsthal against the Maltese-Punic theory, was made more scientific by the German linguist and librarian of the library of the archduke of Saxony in Dresden, Johann Christoph Adelung. In his *Mithridates oder allgemeine Sprachenkunde*, he indicates Arabic as the main foundation of Maltese. The other vocabulary was obtained from Italian and French. Similar observations were made by the French professor of the Oriental languages, Antoine Isaac Silvestre de Sacy. The final blow against this conviction came when the German scholar Wilhelm Gesenius pointed out the weak points of the Punic-Maltese theory. A professor of theology at the university of Halle, Gesenius was a leading expert in Hebraic and the fragments of Punic which had been unearthed. In 1810 he published his treatise *Versuch ueber die maltesische Sprache* which was rated as a counter-thesis to Vassalli`s works. Gesenius first stressed that the Punic language was still too superficially known to provide a solid base for any comparison with modern Maltese. Furthermore, most contemporary scholars were not able to distinguish between old Hebrew and Punic. Secondly, he pointed out that a survival of the idiom spoken in Malta before the Arab occupation in the ninth, tenth, and eleventh centuries, was more than unlikely. He correctly realized the similarity between the Arabic dialect spoken in the Maghreb and Maltese. Gesenius was led to this conclusion after consulting the first publication about the Maghrebian dialect, namely, Franz von Dombay's *Grammatica linguae mauro-arabicae*. Through this prevailing scholarly activity and increasing knowledge in oriental linguistics and culture, the dynamism and development of such studies favoured a proper interpretation on the origins of the Maltese language and its importance within the historic frame. It may have been this type of scholarly criticism about the Punic theory which led Vassalli to rethink his conclusions. In his *Grammatica* (1827) and his *Motti, Aforismi e Proverbii Maltesi* (1828), he abandoned his former point of view.

The natural sciences

The main person of reference for any traveller to Sicily interested in natural history in the late 18th century was Cavaliere Giuseppe Gioeni. Gioeni was a

Knight of Malta but resided then mostly in Catania in the residence of his family. In the 1770s and 1780s he and the well known French geologist Deodat de Dolomieu had carried out intensive research on geology and mineralogy. Even when in the late 1780s Dolomieu left Malta and the Order of St. John their contact never ceased. In fact the correspondence between the two scholars is a mine of information about the latest scientific developments and political news (Cf. Lacroix (ed.) 1921: xix, 92, 234 ff., 245 ff., 242 ff.). In the 1780s, in his villa in Catania, Gioeni had established an extensive cabinet for minerals and natural curiosities. It soon attracted the interest of foreigners. In the 1770s, 1780s and 1790s the mineralogist from Livland, Johann Michael von Borch, the Swiss nobleman Carl Ulysses von Salis Marschlin, Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, Count Friedrich Leopold von Stolberg, the French painters Jean Houel and Dominique Vivant Denon, keenly tried to contact Gioeni and praised his well ordered and organised collection of minerals, shells and objects of the natural sciences. Giuseppe Gioeni then held the post of '*Prolettore*' of the University of Catania, for a long time the only university in Sicily. The Danish traveller Friedrich Münter in 1786 has left an excellent description of Gioeni and his cabinet. The future Protestant bishop of Seeland and professor for theology and ancient history described Gioeni as a 'worthy natural scientist' (Münter 1790: 420). Three years later Gioeni was praised by the mineralogist and secretary to the court of Weimar, Voigt, 'not only as an excellent scientist but also a most kind, polite, and helpful character' (Tuzet 1988: 370). Deodat de Dolomieu would have surely agreed with such a description. In some of his treatises on Mount Etna and on minerals, he describes Gioeni's collections. Some decades later Johann Caspar Fehr still recalled Gioeni's famous cabinet, although when the traveller visited his heirs in 1819 they had just begun selling the items of Gioeni's collection (Fehr 1835: 50 ff.). Johann Heinrich Bartels who met Goeni in 1786 described him as an 'excellent man, ambitious, then very much occupied to find new species of shells, and refurbishing his collection' (Bartels 1789-1792: ii, 457 ff.). Gioeni not only was a point of reference for the travelling scientist but also sometimes served as *cicerone* for the 'average' Grand Tourist. In February 1791 the British traveller Brian Hill stated that '*questa sera siamo stati col Cavalier Joenai (sic) a visitare la città, abbiamo visti gli antichi bagni*' (Hill 1974: 59 ff.).

Many eighteenth-century visitors interested themselves in mineralogy, fossils, and natural history although they were not real experts in the matter. Thorough experts in the natural sciences and natural history were, however, Count Johann Michael von Borch from Livland – author of *Lithographie Sicilienne* (1777) and *Lithologie et minéralogie Sicilienne* (1778) – and Charles Sigisbert Sonnini de Manoncourt. Sonnini passed information about the fauna and flora of Malta to his friend, the scientist Horace-Bénédict de Saussure, in several letters. From the

Count von Borch we get to know that in the late 1770s the most acclaimed Maltese doctor was not Michel'Angelo Grima, who had worked in Germany and was the author of several medical treatises, but a certain Dr Zammit, 'very well-versed in chemistry and botany' (Borch 1783: i, 170 ff.). Zammit lived in Mdina and a couple of years earlier had made a name for himself by building a rich botanical garden near Fort St Elmo. Christoph Albrecht Kayser wrote in 1799 that this garden, however, fell into ruins after Zammit's death (Kayser 1799-1800: ii, 84). Zammit was not the only doctor and natural scientist Count Johann Michael von Borch sought to contact during his December 1776 visit. Borch was one day invited by Grand Cross Camille de Rohan to witness an experiment conducted by the Abbé Grimaldi who had invented a special mixture to staunch bleeding. The experiment, which was carried out on a goat, did not however, work, for the goat died the following day (Borch 1783: i, 175 ff.). It is not known if the Count von Borch had personal contacts with Deodat de Dolomieu, but in his travelogue and publications on aspects of natural science, he praised the French scientist's treatises on the natural history and climate of Malta. In the 1780s Dolomieu had become one of the best known natural scientists of his times. His publications and papers on volcanoes, mineralogy, fossils, and climate, like the *Voyage aux Iles de Lipari* (1783), *Bemerkungen über die Ponza-Inseln* (1789), and *Essai sur la Température du Climat de Malthe* (1781/83), were widely read and often quoted even by amateurs. In 1790, following a clash with his arch-enemy Balī Loras and with Grand Master Rohan, Dolomieu had turned his back on Malta. Before he had been much sought by visitors interested in Sicily's and Malta`s geology (Lacroix (ed.) 1921: xviii ff., 91 ff.; Borch 1783: i, 177; Münter 1937: ii, 137 ff.; Münter 1944: i, 224-231). Recalling his meetings with Dolomieu in Malta in May 1777, Sonnini de Manoncourt called him a man, 'whom the sciences number among their most illustrious and dearest partisans'. In the 1770s Dolomieu had bought a house ('Maison Buda') with a small garden in Valletta, where he not only set up an observatory but filled it with specimens of volcanoes, rare plants, fossils, artefacts, Punic, Greek, and Roman coins and a great many specialized books. This house was frequently visited by travellers. Together with his Freemason-friend Commander Bosredon-Rancijat, Dolomieu toured Sicily and Italy. In Rome in 1788 Dolomieu met Goethe who had just returned from Sicily and his aborted visit to Malta. Another member of the Order who occupied himself with questions of natural science and was regularly contacted by travellers was the Chevalier Andelard and his paper on the climate in Malta published in the 'Mercure de France' in August 1777 was often quoted. Dolomieu's and Gioeni's closest friend and Masonic colleague was the knight of Malta, Philippe de Fay. After Dolomieu had left Malta for good, Fay was contacted by many visitors about volcanoes and mineralogy.

Archaeology and ancient history

For any learned traveller to Sicily in the second half of the 18th century, a visit to the museum of Ignazio Vincenzo Paternò, Principe di Biscari in Catania was a must. Münter, Borch, Goethe, Swinburne, Zinzendorff, Bartels, Houel, Denon and many others describe such a visit. Biscari`s impressive collection then not only preserved ancient artefacts (coins, medals, vases and statues) but also Sicilian arms, dresses, and jewels and had an attached cabinet with objects of the natural sciences (instruments, technical tools and minerals), amongst them many rocks and lava specimens from the Etna. It was this vast frame which made some specialists like Dolomieu and Münter complain about the lack of system in the collection of Biscari (Tuzet 1988: 367). The prince himself had made a name of international reputation when in the 1770s and 1780s he published some well received treatises and books on Sicily's ancient history and classical heritage, amongst them the well known *Viaggio per tutte le antichità della Sicilia* (1781). How far the prince of Biscari`s involvement in freemasonry played a role in the interest of so many foreigners to meet him, is difficult to answer. What is sure, is that many of the scholars and connoisseurs who in the 1770s and 1780s paid a visit to his museum belonged to the mushrooming freemason lodges in France, England, Scandinavia or Germany. The beginning was made with Johann Hermann von Riedesel in spring 1767. The freemason Riedesel originally intended to tour *Magna Graecia*, Sicily and Malta together with his mentor Johann Joachim Winckelmann but shortly before the departure the latter pulled out. Riedesel is full of praise for the 'worthy and truly venerable Prince Biscari, the principal and richest citizen of Catania…' (Riedesel 1773: 88 ff.). The German baron states that, 'The museum of Prince Biscari is one of the most complete and beautiful in Italy, and perhaps (without exaggeration) in the world. It contains busts, statues, basso relievos, bronzes, etc. His cabinet of curiosities relating to natural history is very complete; he has likewise a very curious collection of various mechanical instruments' (Riedesel 1773: 97 ff.). Riedesel`s travelogue gives a long list of the items then kept in the museum. But there were also the human, not to say freemason qualities of the prince which need to be stressed. The prince was 'a man who uses the advantage of his family to the benefit of mankind (…) His company is agreeable and instructive, and serious without dryness, he decides by his arguments, while he only seems to give his opinion. (…) I made an eight days stay with them [Biscari and his wife] and in that time became their zealous and true admirer' (Riedesel 1773: 102). Deodat de Dolomieu, a member of the Parisian *Loge des Neuf Soeurs* comments on the collection of Biscari in a letter to Lalande dated 9th June 1782: '*La collection des médailles du Prince de Biscari est une des plus nombreuses qu`il y ait en Italie. (…) Les amateurs d`antiquités vantent aussi beaucoup sa collection de marbres et statues antiques, inscriptions, bas-reliefs, bronzes etc.*' (Lacroix (ed.) 1921: 92). In 1778 another freemason, Henry Swinburne, had visited Catania and the Prince of Biscari and informs his readers: 'His [Biscari`s] museum contains many precious articles.

His cabinet of cameos and intaglios is a rich one, and his cretas and vases are curious. I spent some days with him very agreeably' (Swinburne 1885: 194). One year before Jean Houel, author of the famous *Voyage pittoresque des îles de Sicile, de Malte et de Lipari* and like Dolomieu member of the *Loge des Neuf Soeurs*, had paid a visit to Biscari. Another freemason and scholar who has a lot to say about the prince and his collection is the Danish traveller Friedrich Münter. He sojourned in Catania in December 1785 and in his travel notes, his later published travelogue as well as in his letters he refers to the 'Museo Biscari, housed in an edifice which the prince built behind the façade of his palace; its galleries and rooms run around squarish courtyards'. The prince was long dead when travellers like Brian Hill or Johann Caspar Fehr still commented on his famous museum (Hill 1974: 59 ff..; Fehr 1835: 291).

But there were also other collectors who had established a good name in the circles of the connoisseurs and foreign scholars. During his examination of the classical heritage of Sicily in 1776 and 1777, Johann Michael von Borch especially praised the support he got from the Sicilian knight Cesare Gaetani della Torre, 'a knowledgeable man of most gentle manners who enjoys especially guiding the travellers to the archaeological remains of the island' (Borch 1783: i, 122; Allgemeine deutsche Bibliothek 1785: 203). Just one year later the Dutch traveller Willem H. van Nieuwerkerke carried with him a letter from the British ambassador and connoisseur Sir William Hamilton for 'Count Gaetani, a man of great merit, an erudite antiquarian known for his translation of Theocritus into Italian' (Strickland (ed.) 2005: 50). But in the end Nieuwerkerke and his travel group – amongst them the Swiss painter Louis Ducros – when in Syracuse in June 1778, did not make it to the palace of Cesare Gaetani. Another traveller who actually visited Gaetani was the French painter Jean Houel in spring 1777. In one of his letters home he praised '*mon respectable ami le Conte Gaetani de la Torre*' (Houel, travel journal, cahier 5, March 24, 1777). In the 1770s and 1780s Count Gaetani della Torre, translator of *Anacreonte*, an archaeologist and poet, and his palace in Syracuse became a much desired aim to visit for travellers on the Grand Tour. Already in 1767 when the Baron of Riedesel arrived in Syracuse he knew 'Count Gaetani, a very learned man, well versed in the history of his native city, and perfectly well acquainted with the Greek language….' (Riedesel 1773: 79). The future mayor of Hamburg, Heinrich Bartels, who was in Syracuse in 1786 refers to Gaetani`s publications and activities in great detail (Bartels 1789-1792: iii, 265 ff.). Of course also Dolomieu in his letters makes mention of the work and achievements of his former brethren in the Order of St. John (Lacroix (ed.): 242 ff.). Besides Gaetani there was the learned Count Saverio Landolina Nava in Syracuse who held an important role in the international network of the *comunitas litteraria* and who attracted visitors. Landolina was the nephew of the Prince of Biscari and like Gioeni, a knight of

Malta. Only a very few then knew that he also was an active freemason and member of the Freemason lodge of Syracuse. Much more was known about his vast interest in Sicilian folklore, history, the natural sciences and linguistics. In the 1780s he set up a rich collection of antiquities and developed a keen interest in the production of Papyrus. About this subject he communicated extensively with Christian Gottlob Heyne, professor of Old Greek at the University of Göttingen (Tuzet 1988: 370 ff.). He also had an extensive letter exchange with Münter (Münter 1944: ii, 1-9; Münter 1937: ii, 73), Bartels (Bartels 1789-1792: iii, 52 ff.) or Thomas Christian Tychsen (Freller 2001: chapter 5). Because of his contacts with Tychsen in 1792 he published his *Gli Antichi Monumenti di Siracusa* in Hamburg. Landolina was visited by Stolberg, Denon, Meerman, Washington Irving and many others (Cf. Tuzet 1988: 370 ff.).

Based on the concept of humanism the visits of and contacts with foreign scholars formed an important aspect of touring foreign countries. When, between the 16th and 18th century the islands of Malta and Sicily were integrated into the canon of the European educational tour, the local scholars also became important points of reference for travelling members of the *res publica litteraria* as well as for the 'ordinary' cavalier on his educational tour. The contacts with the local scholars formed the perception of Malta and Sicily, its culture and history, in a most decisive way. In this very brief and fragmentary paper it was intended to indicate to what an important extent the contact with the Sicilian and Maltese scholars contributed to the European awareness, interpretation and classification of important aspects of Sicilian and Maltese culture, as for example the archaeological heritage of these regions, their language or geology.

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Fig. 1.1. - *Neolithic and Early Eneolithic exchange networks between Sicily and Malta (adapted from Leighton 1999)*

Fig. 1.2. - *Pottery assemblage from Spatarella, Lipari (from Cavalier 1979)*

Fig. 1.3. - *Two-handled jar from Riparo della Serra (Bronte), stratum 3 (early Eneolithic Period); 2. Two-handled jar from Malta, Zebbug Phase (after Evans 1971)*

Fig. 1.4 - *Carinated bowls with incised triangles (1-3 from Piano Vento); 4 from Casalicchio Agnone (Licata); 5-6 from Piano Notaro (Gela); 1-3 from Castellana 1995; 4-6 from McConnell 1985*

Fig,. 1.5. - *Proposal of periodisation of the Late Neolithic/early Eneolithic Period in Sicily, according to the ceramic sequence*

Fig. 1.6. - *Fragments of conical bowls with incised decoration from Santa Verna in Gozo (1-2) and Skorna in Malta (3-4) (from Trump 1966)*

Sicily/Aeolian Islands	Malta	Periods
Spatarella	Grey Skorba	Transitional LN/Eneol.
Piano Vento east group	Mgarr (early Zebbug)	Eneolithic 1
Piano Vento west group	Brochtorff (late Zebbug)	Eneolithic 2

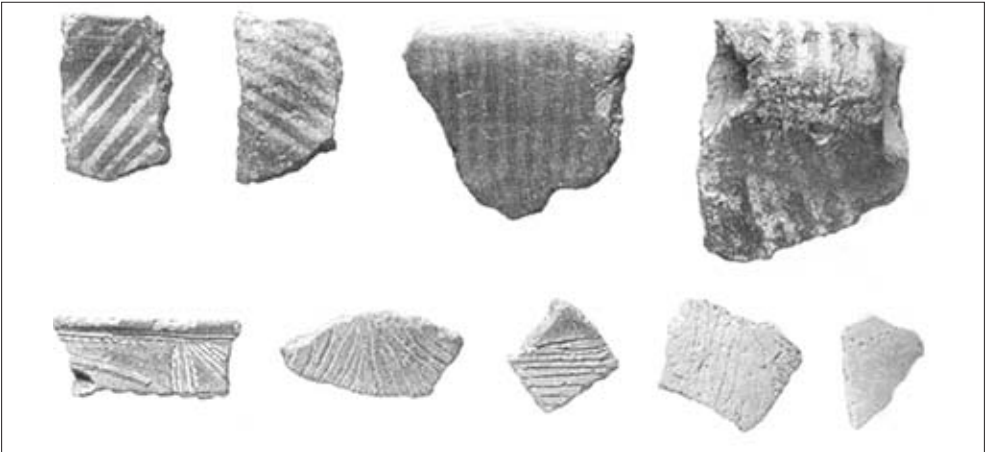
Fig. 1.7. - *A comparative synchronism between Sicily and the Maltese islands from Late Neolithic to the early Eneolithic period*

Fig,. 1.8. - *Incised pottery from the Aspis Hill at Argos, level pre-Early Helladic I (after Alram Stern 1996)*

Fig. 3.1. - *Il sito dell'antica Himera dall'alto del Monte Catalfano (Solunto) (foto dell'autore)*

Fig. 3.2. - *Il sito dell'antica Solunto da Himera – città alta (foto dell'autore)*

Fig. 3.3 - *Il Monte Erice da Mozia (foto dell’autore)*

Fig. 3.4. - *Mozia, l'impianto urbano (archivio Antonella Spanò)*

Fig. 3.5. - *Gioielli di produzione fenicia da Malta (da SAGONA 2003)*

Fig. 3.6. - *Medaglione aureo da Mozia (foto dell'Autore)*

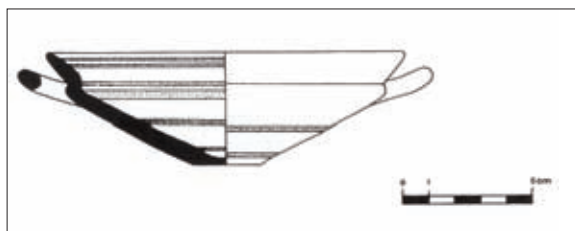



Fig. 2.7. - *Kylix di imitazione da Malta (da CIASCA 2000)*

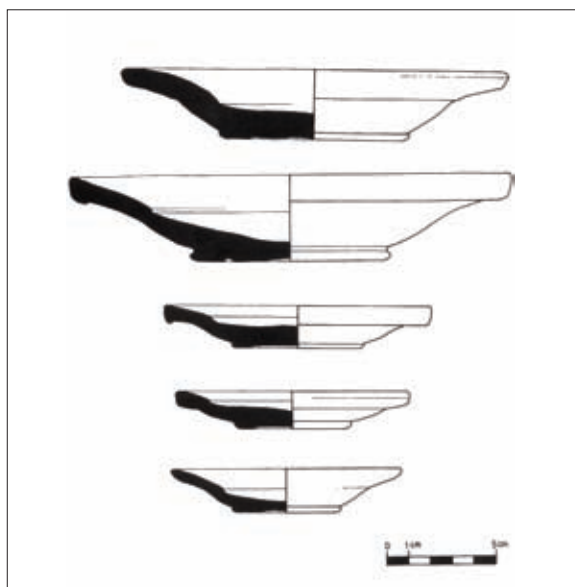
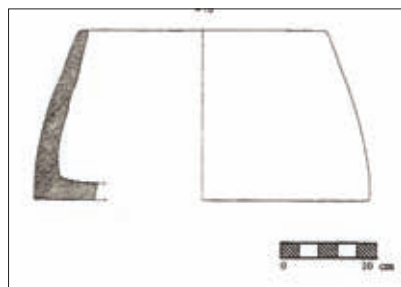



Fig. 3.8 - *Forme aperte di imitazione da Malta (da CIASCA 2000)*

Fig, 3.9 - *Pignatta troncononica di impasto dalla necropoli punica di Palermo (archivio Antonella Spanò)*

Fig, 3.10 - *Pignatta troncoconica di impasto da Malta (da QUERCIA 2003)*

Index of places *

* For the name of places, the English version has been preferred, when available.

Abstracts, Curricula and Keywords

Parole chiave: Malta, Sicilia, archeologia, storia, età medievale, viaggiatori
Keywords: Malta, Sicily, archaeology, history, medieval period, travellers

Anthony Bonanno è curatore del volume.

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Pietro Militello (Scicli, 1963), è professore associato di Civiltà Egee presso la Facoltà di Lettere e Filosofia dell'Università di Catania dove insegna archeologia egea e preistoria e protostoria. Membro della Missione Archeologica di Festòs, si è occupato di scritture egee, di decorazione pittorica e di produzione tessile a Creta. Ha studiato anche aspetti della preistoria siciliana, specialmente nell'ambito delle relazioni con altre aree nel Mediterraneo preistorico. Pietro

Sulla base di confronti ceramici l'A. propone una distinzione in tre momenti della fase di transizione tra Neolitico tardo e Eneolitico: Spatarella-Grey Skorba; Piano Vento fase a/Mgarr-Zebbug; Piano Vento fase b/Zebbug finale. Ne risulta il pieno coinvolgimento delle due isole in una rete di contatti estesa fino ai Balcani alla Grecia, nella quale la ceramica incisa è solo un aspetto di un più ampio sistema di comunicazione.

On the basis of ceramic comparisons the author proposes distinguishing three moments in the phase of transition between the late Neolithic and the Aeneolithic: Spatarella-Grey Skorba; Piano Vento phase a/Mgarr-Zebbug; Piano Vento phase b/Zebbug final. What emerges is the full involvement of the two islands in a network of contacts extending as far as the Balkans and Greece, in which engraved ceramics is only one aspect of a bigger system of communication.

Massimo Cultraro, ricercatore CNR (CNR-IBAM) e docente di Antichità egee presso l'Università di Palermo, studia le civiltà pre-protostoriche del mondo greco e anatolico. Allievo della Scuola archeologica italiana di Atene e *visiting professor* presso la Brown University di Providence (Rhode Island, USA) opera in missioni archeologiche italiane in Grecia (Creta e Lemnos).

La storia di un'isola non dipende da un astratta nozione di insularità né dalla semplice interazione tra condizioni naturali e attività umana. Essa è invece profondamente condizionata anche dal più ampio contesto geopolitico. Sulla base di queste premesse l'A. riesamina la fortuna e il ruolo mutevole delle isole di Malta, Gozo, Pantelleria e Marittimo nelle rotte mediterranee di età classica e il modo altrettanto mutevole con cui esse furono percepite da storici e geografi antichi.

The history of an island does not depend on an abstract notion of insularity or on simple interaction between natural conditions and human activity. It is also profoundly affected, instead, by the broader geopolitical context. Starting from these premises the author re-examines the fortune and changeable role of the islands of Malta, Gozo, Pantelleria and Marettimo in the Mediterranean routes in the classical age and the equally changeable way in which they were perceived by historians and ancient geographers.

Pascal Arnaud, Dottore di ricerca in Studi Classici con Pierre Grimal, è attualmente professore di Archeologia Romana all'Università di Nizza, dove ha insegnato precedentemente storia del mondo romano (dal 1992). Ha partecipato e diretto scavi in Francia, Siria, Libano, Italia ed è stato consigliere UNESCO per gli scavi di emergenza a Beirut nel 1994.

Le sue ricerche sono focalizzate sulle pratiche sociali, economiche e politiche dello spazio nel mondo antico, coinvolgendo ambiti diversi come la geografia, la classificazione di popoli e terre, le vie di comunicazione etc., e dal punto di vista epistemologico i problemi del trattamento del documento storico.

Sulla base delle evidenze archeologiche portate alla luce nel corso di oltre un trentennio di ricerche condotte nell'ambito delle aree interessate dalla frequentazione fenicia e punica in Sicilia e nell'arcipelago maltese, si propone una sintesi delle principali problematiche emerse dal confronto tra realtà diverse, per modalità insediamentali e sviluppo storico dei singoli centri, a partire dall'età arcaica fino al IV sec. a.C.

On the basis of the archaeological evidence brought to light during over a period of thirty years of researches conducted in the areas affected by Phoenician and Punic frequentation in Sicily and in the Maltese archipelago, a summary is attempted of the main problems emerging from the encounter between cultures that differed regarding settlement modalities and historical development of the single places, from the archaic age down to the 4th century BC.

Rossana De Simone è assegnista di Ricerca presso la Facoltà di Lettere dell'Università degli Studi di Palermo. Si occupa di Archeologia fenicio-punica con particolare riferimento alla Sicilia, ove ha svolto anche ricerche sul campo affiancate a collaborazioni con diversi Enti e Musei. Membro del Consiglio di Amministrazione del Centro Internazionale di Studi Fenici, Punici e Romani di Marsala, ha al suo attivo inoltre studi di epigrafia fenicia e punica, riguardanti in massima parte l'area nordafricana.

Una piccola lastra marmorea, conservata presso il Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Malta ma forse rinvenuta originariamente a Gozo, reca inciso l'epitaffio di un medico cristiano, Domestico. L'iscrizione è stata datata al III/IV o al IV/V oppure ancora al VI secolo d.C. Il registro inferiore dell'epigrafe presenta l'immagine stilizzata di due strumenti chirurgici: Domestico fu, dunque, un chirurgo.

L'epitaffio gozitano si presta al confronto con altre testimonianze provenienti sia dallo stesso arcipelago maltese (una lastra tombale recante a rilievo l'immagine di 14 strumenti chirurgici), sia da una serie di iscrizioni relative a medici attestati nella vicina Sicilia (in particolare l'epigrafe catanese di Basso), sia ancora dai passi di alcuni scrittori cristiani concernenti le pratiche chirurgiche. Le affinità riscontrate offrono elementi che consentono di stabilire per l'epitaffio di Domestico una datazione al IV/V secolo d.C.

A small marble tablet, held at Malta's National Archaeological Museum but probably discovered originally at Gozo, bears the epitaph of a Christian doctor, Domestikos. The inscription was dated as $3^{rd}/4^{th}$ century A.D. or as $4^{th}/5^{th}$ or else as 6^{th}. The lower section of the epigraph contains stylised images of two surgical instruments: Domestikos was in fact a surgeon.

The Gozo epitaph can be compared with other evidences either from Maltese archaeology (a tombstone which bears in relief images of 14 surgeon's instruments) or from a series of inscriptions relating to doctors in nearby Sicily (especially the Bassos' Catanian epigraph) or from the testimony of certain Christian writers on surgical practices. The similarities provide elements that allow us to establish a $4^{th}/5^{th}$ century date for the Domestikos' epitaph.

Margherita Cassia, dottore di ricerca in Storia Antica, è ricercatrice di "Storia Romana" presso la Facoltà di Lettere e Filosofia dell'Università degli Studi di Catania, docente dei Corsi Integrati di "Storia Romana" e "Storia greca", nonché membro della segreteria di redazione di *Orpheus. Rivista di umanità classica e cristiana*. Si è occupata di aspetti amministrativi, dinamiche socio-economiche e rapporti culturali nella Cappadocia romana, delle complesse relazioni dell'intellettuale augusteo Strabone con il "suo" pubblico e con il potere, di tempi e spazi di spostamento in Occidente dei medici greco-orientali fra prima età imperiale e Tarda Antichità.

Attraverso l'esame di fonti letterarie, archeologiche ed iconografiche si ricostruisce la storia delle isole minori della Sicilia tra la fine del mondo antico e l'età moderna. Le isole appaiono tutte pienamente abitate in età romana e nella prima età bizantina (in questo periodo anche per il concorso di profughi dall'Africa), mentre si spopolano progressivamente nel corso dell' VIII e IX secolo. La conquista musulmana segna per molte di esse il totale abbandono che perdurerà fino ad età normanna per Malta, Lipari, Gozo e Pantelleria, e alla tarda età medievale e, in alcuni casi, fino alla piena età moderna per le altre.

Through an examination of literary, archaeological and imagery sources there is reconstructed the history of the smaller islands off Sicily between the end of the ancient world and the modern age. The islands all appear to be fully inhabited in the Roman age and in the early Byzantine age (in this period also with the contribution of fugitives from Africa), while they were gradually depopulated during the 8^{th} and 9^{th} centuries. For many of them the Muslim conquest meant total abandonment, which was to last until the Norman age for Malta, Lipari, Gozo and Pantelleria, and to the late medieval age and, in some cases, right down to the modern age for the others.

Fernando Maurici (Palermo 1959) dirige attualmente il Servizio per i Beni Archivistici e Bibliografici della Soprintendenza BBCCAA di Trapani. E' professore a contratto di Archeologia Cristiana presso l'Università di Bologna e di Topografia Medievale presso la LUMSA. E' dottore di ricerca in Storia Medievale e ha conseguito, all'Università Centrale di Barcellona, un Master in Archeologia Medievale. E' stato borsista della Alexander von Humboldt Stiftung e ha insegnato nelle Università di Bamberga e Francorte sull'Oder. E' autore di oltre ottanta pubblicazioni dedicate alla

storia, alla topografia e all'archeologia medievale della Sicilia.

Il viaggio come sostituzione dell'esperienza concreta alla conoscenza teorica tradizionale di stampo medievale è uno dei tratti dell'età moderna europea. Malta entra tra le mete di viaggio a partire già dal XVI secolo, dopo l'insediamento dei Cavalieri, per le relazioni che essi intrecciano con tutta l'Europa. L'interesse è in questa fase enciclopedico. Solo nel corso del XVIII secolo si affermerà il viaggio specializzato, nell'ambito della quale si colloca un nuovo interesse per l'antico e il pieno coinvolgimento anche della Sicilia. In questo processo il rapporto tra viaggiatori centro-europei e studiosi siciliani e maltesi è contribuisce alla costruzione della percezione di Malta e della Sicilia nella coscienza europea.

The journey as a way of replacing the traditional theoretical knowledge of a medieval type with concrete experience is one of the features of the European modern age. Malta became one of the travel destinations starting from the 16th century, after the Knights moved in, because of the relationships that they set up with all Europe. The interest is in this encyclopaedic phase. It was only during the 18th century that there came the specialist trip, within which there was also new interest in the ancient and the full involvement of Sicily too. In this process the relationship between central European travellers and Sicilian and Maltese scholars contributed to the construction of the perception of Malta and Sicily in the European mind.

Thomas Freller, Nato a Wiesbaden, in Germania, si è laureate e addottorato a Mainz. E' stato lettero di Scienze cultuarali, Letterature comparative e tedesco al'Università di Mainz, Malta e Daugavpils (Lettonia). Attualmente insegna all'università di Scienze Applicate ad Aalen (Germania) alla Deutsche Angestellten Akademie, Stuttgart. Ha pubblicato 20 libri e diversi articoli in Germania, Stati Uniti, Gran Bretagna, Italia, Spagna e Malta sulla storia della cultura del Mediterraneo nella prima età moderna. Aree di interesse e di studio sono: storia spagnola, siciliana e maltese nel XVI e XVII secolo, il fenomeno del pellegrinaggio cristiano, il fenomeno delle falsificazioni letterarie e dei ciarlatani nella prima età moderna.

Ultimo in ordine di tempo tra i convegni del progetto KASA, il seminario di St. Julians, tenutosi nel novembre 2007, ha voluto affrontare aspetti della lunga storia di queste isole con angolazioni differenti. M. Cultraro analizza il IV millennio in termini di cronologia comparata e inserimento nel più ampio contesto balcanico; R. De Simone confronta la cultura fenicia di Malta con quella siciliana mentre P. Arnaud ripercorre la cangiante posizione dell'arcipelago nelle rotte di età classica e nella percezione dei geografi antichi; M. Cassia prende spunto da una iscrizione maltese per ricostruire l'atteggiamento dei cristiani nei confronti della professione del chirurgo e F. Maurici ripercorre la storia del popolamento delle isole minori della Sicilia tra tardoantico e medioevo; infine, T. Freller chiude la rassegna con uno studio sui viaggiatori della prima età moderna e la costruzione dell'immagine di Malta nella coscienza europea.

The St Julian congress, the last conference organised by the KASA project in November 2007, dealt with many aspects of the long histories of these islands from different perspectives. M. Cultraro analyses the IV millennium BC, in terms of synchronization of the chronologies within a wider Balkan context; R. De Simone compares the Phoenician cultures of Malta and Sicily, while P. Arnaud addresses how the ancient geographers perceived the changing position of the archipelagos within the routes of the Classical period; M. Cassia starts from a Maltese inscription to reconstruct the attitude of the Christians towards the profession of the surgeon, and F. Maurici reviews the history of the population of the minor Sicilian islands between late antiquity and the Medieval period; finally, T. Freller concludes with a study of the modern travellers and of the construction of the image of Malta in the European conscience.

Progetto cofinanziato dall'Unione Europea - Programma di Cooperazione Transfrontaliera
Italia - Malta

TAVOLE FUORI TESTO

L'ITALIE
selon Strabon
N
M. Adula
ALPES
M. Ocra
Aquileia
Fl. Padus
M. Apennini
Genua
Ariminum
Fl. Arnus
Fl. Tiberis
Populonium
M. Garganus
I. CYRNUS
Roma
Pr. Circeium
Posidonia
I. SASON
Sybaris
I. SARDO
Pr. Lacinium
Pr. Caenys
Pr. Pelorum
Rhegium
M. Aetna
Pr. Pachynum
Pr. Lilybaeum
I. GAUDUS
I. MELITA
I. COSSURA
I. AEGIMURUS
LIBYA
Stades
0
1 000

OUTER SEA
Pillars of
Herakles
Sicily
Carthage
Rhodes
Issus

Carta della Sicilia Sud-Orientale con indicazione dei siti archeologici preistorici e tardo antichi di influenza maltese

Scala 1:200.000

Elaborazione grafica a cura di Davide Tanasi

SITI PREISTORICI (48)

GU 1 - Monte Tabuto
GU 2 - Monte Racello
GU 3 - Monte Salia
GU 4 - Contrada Sante Croci
GU 5 - Contrada Paolina
GU 6 - Cozzo Ciavole
GU 7 - Torre Mazzaronello
GU 8 - Calaforno
GU 9 - Cava dei Servi
GU 10 - Cozzo Galesi
GU 11 - Contrada Maestro
GU 12 - Monte Casale/Grotta Masella

TA 1 - Campolato di Augusta
TA 2 - Molinello
TA 3 - Avola
TA 4 - Grotta del Conzo
TA 5 - Grotta della Chiusazza
TA 6 - Contrada Tabaccheddu
TA 7 - Timpa Dieri/Petraro
TA 8 - Vendicari
TA 9 - Castelluccio
TA 10 - Costa dei Grani
TA 11 - Grotta di Calafarina
TA 12 - Cugni di Calafarina
TA 13 - Vulpiglia
TA 14 - Thapsos
TA 15 - Cozzo del Pantano
TA 16 - Isolotto di Ognina
TA 17 - Plemmirio
TA 18 - Matrensa

TE 1 - Baravitalla - Cava Ispica
TE 2 - Bellamagna
TE 3 - Calicantone I
TE 4 - Castelluccio I
TE 5 - Castiglione
TE 6 - Cava Baratta
TE 7 - Cava del Prainito - Povere Donne
TE 8 - Cava Granati/Ternulla I
TE 9 - Cava Granati/Vacche Morte
TE 10 - Cava Lavinaro I
TE 11 - Cava Lazzaro I
TE 12 - Cava Palombieri/Case Molè
TE 13 - Cava Palombieri/Cozzo Scalarangio
TE 14 - Cava Prainito/Cozzo Tondo
TE 15 - Cozzo Telegrafo
TE 16 - Epipoli
TE 17 - Gesira
TE 18 - Granati Vecchi I
TE 19 - Grotticella
TE 20 - Ossena di Sopra I
TE 21 - Pernice
TE 22 - Petraro
TE 23 - Quartiriccio - Modica
TE 24 - S. Alfano/Passo del Ladro
TE 25 - Scicli
TE 26 - Stafenna
TE 27 - Thapsos
TE 28 - Timognosa

SITI TARDO ANTICHI (51)

MA 1 - Molinello
MA 2 - Cozzo Guardiole
MA 3 - Sant'Elania
MA 4 - S. Giovanni
MA 5 - Ferla
MA 6 - Ex feudo Gisira
MA 7 - Grotta delle Monete
MA 8 - Intagliata
MA 9 - Intagliatella
MA 10 - Senebardo
MA 11 - Portopalo
MA 12 - Cava delle Porcherie II
MA 13 - Manomozza I
MA 14 - Manomozza II
MA 15 - Monachella
MA 16 - Riuzzo I
MA17 - Riuzzo II
MA 18 - Stafenna I
MA 19 - Lardia I

TR 1 - Favorita
TR 2 - Trigona di Cittadella di Vendicari
TR 3 - Basilica di Cittadella di Vendicari
TR 4 - S. Lorenzo Vecchio
TR 5 - Cuba di S. Teresa
TR 6 - S. Pietro ad Baias
TR 7 - S. Focà
TR 8 - Basilica Palazzo Platamone di Rosolini
TR 9 - Tonnara di Vendicari
TR 10 - Pirrera
TR 11 - Caucana
TR 12 - Cittadella dei Maccari

RI 1 - Cava Ispica - Larderia
RI 2 - Grotta delle Trabacche
RI 3 - Treppiedi
RI 4 - Sulla
RI 5 - San Pancrati
RI 6 - Penninello Malvasia
RI 7 - Finocchiara, ipogeo E
RI 8 - San Marco
RI 9 - Cozzo Tondo
RI 10 - Cava Ddieri
RI 11 - Grotta dei Santi
RI 12 - San Nicola o Grotta della Madonna
RI 13 - Scorrione
RI 14 - San Bartolomeo
RI 15 - Buttino
RI 16 - Santa Maria
RI 17 - Spezieria
RI 18 - Cella
RI 19 - Martorina - Coda di Lupo
RI 20 - Scorrione